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ABSTRACT

This book focuses on diversity, concentrating on issues of race and ethnicity and on the contributions made, and challenges faced, by the nation's racial and ethnic communities. The easy-to-read, graphically highlighted materials in the book invite students to confront the challenges of living in a diverse society by looking at the past, present, and future. Following an introduction, chapters in the book are: (1) "The Ideal of Equality"; (2) "A Diverse Nation"; (3) "The Civil Rights Movement"; (4) "Issues and Policies"; and (5) "Bringing Us Together." Includes sources for each chapter and an index. (BT)

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THE CHALLENGE OF

DIVERSITY

SO 031 465

M. Croddy

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W.M. KECK FOUNDATION *Series*

The Challenge of Diversity is the third volume in the W.M. Keck Foundation Series, a series of educational publications that will address key challenges facing our democratic and pluralistic republic under the framework of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

The W.M. Keck Foundation, one of the nation's largest charitable foundations primarily supports higher education, medical research, and science. The Foundation also maintains a Southern California Grant Program that provides support in the areas of civic and community services, health care, precollegiate education, and the arts. The Board of Directors of Constitutional Rights Foundation is grateful to the W.M. Keck Foundation for its vision and generosity.

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INTRODUCTION

For more than 200 years, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights have guided the United States. The Constitution defined a federal form of government that has served us well. The Bill of Rights limited the powers of that government and provided Americans with an unprecedented level of personal and political freedom.

Over the past two centuries, our republic has faced many challenges, such as war, internal dissension, and economic turmoil. As we enter a new millennium, America will face new challenges testing our unity, our principles, and our system of government.

It is the young people of today who will face these challenges. They will be tomorrow's voters, community leaders, politicians, and citizens. They will be asked to decide on issues unknown to us today, and the quality of those decisions will determine whether our constitutional system will endure. It is to these young people that this series is dedicated.

This volume in the series focuses on diversity in America. This vast subject might include race, ethnic groups, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and other important topics. To provide as full a discussion as possible in this book's limited space, we have decided to concentrate on issues of race and ethnicity. In this volume, *The Challenge of Diversity*, we consider the contributions made and challenges faced by our country's racial and ethnic communities.

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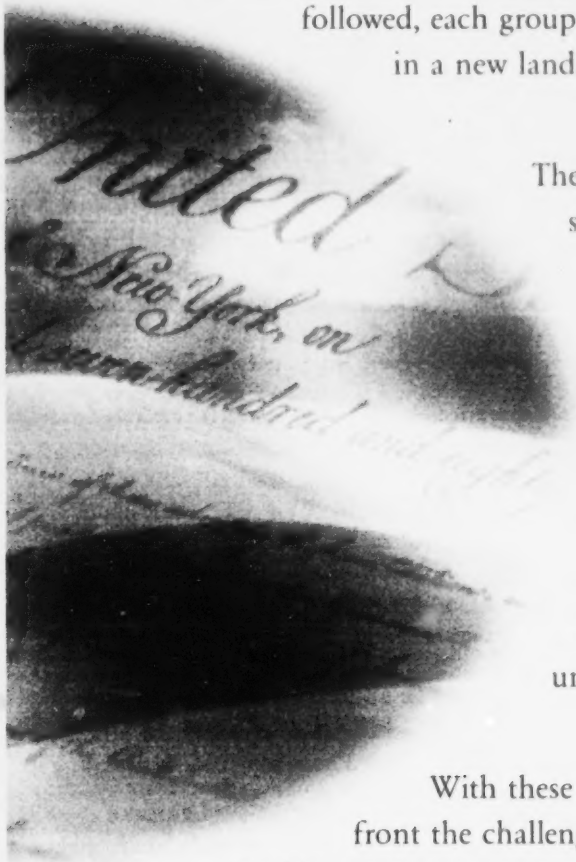
The story of America is the story of its diverse peoples. The First Americans arrived more than 12,000 years ago and developed a rich array of cultures. Then came European explorers and colonists—the Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch, French—who conquered the land and displaced its original inhabitants. Soon, Africans, against their will, were transported as slaves to work cultivating and building. Waves of immigrants followed, each group seeking opportunity and freedom in a new land. The process continues today.



The story has a dark side. It tells of slavery, nativism, prejudice, and the majority oppressing the minority. But in its ideals, America has stood for the principles of equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. How these principles have been honored and abused is a story of both tragedy and triumph.

With these materials, we invite students to confront the challenges of living in a diverse society by looking at the past, present, and future. First, we consider the ideals of equality as contained in our founding and legal traditions. Next, we examine the contributions and struggles of various groups who have lived the American experience. Then, we discuss the civil rights movement and its crusade to achieve our ideals of equality. Following this, we explore controversies and public-policy issues concerning equality and diversity that confront us today. Finally, we invite students to contribute their own ideas and actions to help assure equality and harmony in their own communities.

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CHAPTER 1

THE IDEAL OF EQUALITY

The Constitution and Slavery

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

– Declaration of Independence, 1776

When the American colonies broke from England, the Continental Congress asked Thomas Jefferson to write the Declaration of Independence. In the declaration, Jefferson expressed American grievances and explained why the colonists were breaking away. His words proclaimed America's ideals of freedom and equality, which still resonate throughout the world.

This 1830 engraving shows slaves being bought and sold in the shadow of the newly constructed Capitol building in Washington, D.C.

Yet at the time these words were written, more than 500,000 black Americans were slaves. Jefferson himself owned more than 100. Slaves accounted for about one-fifth of the population in the American colonies. Most of them lived in the Southern colonies, where slaves made up 40 percent of the population.

Many colonists, even slave holders, hated slavery. Jefferson called it a "hideous blot" on America. George Washington, who owned hundreds of slaves, denounced it as "repugnant." George Mason, a Virginia slave owner, condemned it as "evil."

But even though many of them decried it, Southern colonists relied on slavery. The Southern colonies were among the richest in America. Their cash crops of tobacco, indigo, and rice depended on slave labor. They weren't going to give it up.

The first U.S. national government began under the Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1781. This document said nothing about slavery. It left the power to regulate slavery, as well as most powers, to the individual states. After their experience with the British, the colonists distrusted a strong central government. The new national government consisted solely of a Congress in which each state had one vote.

With little power to execute its laws or collect taxes, the new government proved ineffective. In May 1787, 55 delegates from 12 states met in Philadelphia. (Rhode Island refused to send a delegation.) Their goal was to revise the Articles of Confederation. Meeting in secret sessions, they quickly changed their goal. They would write a new Constitution. The outline of the new government was soon agreed to. It would have three branches–executive, judiciary, and a two-house legislature.

A dispute arose over the legislative branch. States with large populations wanted representation in both houses of the legislature to be based on population. States with small populations wanted each state to have the same number of representatives, like under the Articles of Confederation. This argument carried on for two months. In the end, the delegates agreed to the "Great Compromise." One branch, the House of Representatives, would be based on population. The other, the Senate, would have two members from each state.

Part of this compromise included an issue that split the convention on North-South lines. The issue was: Should slaves count as part of the population? Under the proposed Constitution, population would ultimately determine three matters:

(1) How many members each state would have in the House of Representatives.

(2) How many electoral votes each state would have in presidential elections.

(3) The amount each state would pay in direct taxes to the federal government.

Only the Southern states had large numbers of slaves. Counting them as part of the population would greatly increase the South's politi-

cal power, but it would also mean paying higher taxes. This was a price the Southern states were willing to pay. They argued in favor of counting slaves. Northern states disagreed. The delegates compromised. Each slave would count as three-fifths of a person.

Some historians have suggested there was more to the three-fifths compromise. While the Constitutional Convention was debating in Philadelphia, Congress under the Articles of Confederation was meeting in New York, 80 miles away. With many members absent and the South for the moment holding a majority, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, which banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. (This land would later be divided into five states: Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and part of Wisconsin.) Some historians believe that the Northwest Ordinance was part of the three-fifths compromise.

Following this compromise, another controversy erupted: What should be done about the slave trade, the importing of new slaves into the United States? Ten states had already outlawed it. Many delegates heatedly denounced it. But the three states that allowed it–Georgia and the two Carolinas–threatened to leave the convention if the trade were banned. A special committee worked out another compromise: Congress would have the power to ban the slave trade, but not until 1800. The convention voted to extend the date to 1808.

A final major issue involving slavery confronted the delegates. Southern states wanted other states to return escaped slaves. The Articles of Confederation had not guaranteed this. But when Congress adopted the Northwest Ordinance, it put in a clause promising that slaves who escaped to the Northwest Territories would be returned to their owners. This was part of the price of making the Northwest Territories free. The delegates placed a similar fugitive slave clause in the Constitution. This was part of a deal with New England states. In exchange for the fugitive slave clause, the New England states got concessions on shipping and trade.

These compromises on slavery had serious effects on the nation. The fugitive slave clause (enforced through legislation passed in 1793 and 1850) allowed escaped slaves to be chased into the North and caught. It also resulted in the illegal kidnaping and return to slavery of thousands of free blacks. The three-fifths compromise increased the South's representation in Congress and the electoral college. In 12 of the first 16 presidential elections, a Southern slave owner won. Extending the slave trade past 1800 brought many more slaves to America. South Carolina alone imported 40,000 slaves between 1803 and 1808 (when Congress overwhelmingly voted to end the trade). So many slaves entered that slavery spilled into the Louisiana territory and took root.

But the Northern states didn't push too hard on slavery issues. Their main goal was to secure a new government. They feared antagonizing the South. Most of them saw slavery as a dying institution with no economic future. They had no way of knowing that in five years the cotton gin would be invented, which would make growing cotton on plantations very profitable. So instead they used slavery as a bargaining chip to win other concessions.

Slaves were not the only group shortchanged in the Constitution. Another group, Indians, are specifically excluded from population counts for taxation or representation. At best, the framers looked on Indians as sovereign nations. At worst, they saw them as savages unworthy of citizenship. For their part, the Indians mostly just wanted to be left alone.

The Declaration of Independence expressed lofty ideals of equality. The framers of the Constitution, intent on making a new government, left important questions of equality and fairness to the future. It would be some time before the great republic that they founded would approach the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. The Constitution never mentions the word "slave" or "slavery." Whenever the subject arises, other words are used ("such Persons," "other Persons," "Persons held to Service or Labour"). Why do you think the framers avoided these words?

2. Some 19th century opponents of slavery considered the Constitution a pro-slavery document. Do you agree? Explain.

CIVIL CONVERSATION

HOW SHOULD WE JUDGE OUR NATION'S FOUNDERS?

Every generation reinterprets history. People, events, and institutions from the past are continually examined and re-examined. Their meaning and importance often cause debate. One question that has emerged recently concerns slavery.

That "peculiar institution," as our nation's founders often referred to it, contradicted our creed of liberty for all. It divided our nation and led to the Civil War, the bloodiest war in our history. It continues to affect us today as we grapple with America's race problems.

The legacy of slavery forces us to confront this question: How do we judge the founders of our nation who owned slaves? Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and our third president, owned slaves. George Washington, revolutionary hero and first president, was one of the largest slave owners in the nation. James Madison, the prime architect of the Constitution and fourth president, held slaves. So did Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death." The same is true of George Mason, one of the most eloquent advocates for individual rights. In fact, 17 of the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention owned a total of about 1,400 slaves. Of the first 12 U.S. presidents, eight were slave owners.

These men have traditionally been considered national heroes. Buildings, streets, cities, schools, and monuments are named in their honor. Does the fact that they owned slaves change our perception of them?

Some people believe that it should. They find it difficult to respect anyone who participated in slavery. This is especially true for some in the African-American community. They point out that many of the founders recognized slavery as evil but continued to own slaves. Instead of fighting the evil, they argue, these men participated in it. Many school districts throughout the South have changed the names of schools named for Confederate leaders, who fought for the South in the Civil War. A school district in New Orleans, which is 90 percent black, has gone one step further. It has ordered the renaming of any school named after a slave owner. This has meant that, in addition to changing schools named for Confederate leaders, the name of George Washington Elementary was replaced. Carl Galmon, a civil rights activist favoring this policy, asked, "How can we expect African-American students to pay homage and respect to someone who enslaved their ancestors?"

Others question this view. They contend that by honoring someone, we are not claiming the person is 100 percent perfect. Everyone has flaws. They say we must judge all persons by the age they lived in and by their achievements, looking carefully at their strengths and weaknesses. They point out that the founders lived in a society that allowed slavery, as had many societies up to that point in history. To hold this against them, they argue, would be unfair. Taking George Washington as an example, they see him as a great man of his era: Although he held slaves (which he freed at his death), he contributed greatly to America gaining its independence and to making America a democracy.

In a diverse society like America, there will always be debates over who we should or should not honor. When it comes to the men who founded our nation, what standards should we use to judge them? Can we honor them for their extraordinary contribution to our nation or is the stain of slavery too great?

Moving Toward Equality Under Law

The Constitution failed to express the ideal of equality found in the Declaration of Independence. Intent on forming a new system of government, the framers of the Constitution basically left slavery for future generations to deal with. At the time, many believed that slavery would simply fade away. It didn't. And the issue of slavery increasingly divided the nation.

As new states entered the union, Congress tried to maintain a balance. For each new slave state, it admitted a free state. When Missouri petitioned to join the union as a slave state in 1819, the balance stood at 11 each—slave and free. The North objected to upsetting the balance and to spreading slavery outside the South. This opened a dispute over slavery that rocked the nation. Finally, in 1820 Congress adopted the Missouri Compromise. Missouri entered the nation as a slave state. In return, Maine, which had been part of Massachusetts, entered as a free state. It was also agreed that, except for Missouri, no new slave states would be formed out of any part of the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern border. This compromise kept Congress quiet on the slavery question for 30 years.

But the nation itself kept growing more divided on the issue. In the North, anti-slavery societies sprouted. In time, a strong abolitionist movement developed, demanding an end to slavery. Abolitionist presses churned out anti-slavery literature. Thousands of slaves escaped to freedom through the Underground Railway, a secret network of people and safe houses that guided slaves to the North. In addition to running away, slaves often resisted by sabotaging work, pretending to be ill, committing crimes, and even openly rebelling on rare occasions.

Southern states responded by tightening their control over slaves. They banned anti-slavery literature. They passed even harsher "slave codes," laws regulating slaves. They grew especially ruthless following a slave uprising led by Nat Turner in 1831.

By 1850, the nation had grown to 30 states—balanced at 15 slave and 15 free. The South recognized that if slavery were to survive, it would have to expand into the West. The Compromise of 1850 allowed California to be admitted as a free state. But in 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This declared that voters in each new state would decide whether their state allowed or prohibited slavery. The act overturned the Missouri Compromise, which had restricted slavery to the South. It also caused a mini-Civil War in Kansas as pro- and anti-slavery settlers flooded the state and took to arms.

The issue of slavery divided the nation and led to the Civil War. This engraving shows an early battle between Union and Confederate forces.

The presidential election of 1856 took place amid this turmoil. After a bitterly contested campaign, Democrat James Buchanan beat a contender from the newly formed Republican Party. Committed to stopping the spread of slavery, the Republicans garnered their support from the North.

As tensions mounted, a U.S. Supreme Court decision inflamed the nation. The highest court in the land, the Supreme Court decides cases appealed to it from lower courts. It determines what the Constitution and other federal laws mean. Its decisions can actually overturn laws if they conflict with the Constitution. In 1857, the Supreme Court heard the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Scott was a slave whose master had taken him to live for several years in Illinois, a free state, and Wisconsin, a

free territory, before bringing him back to Missouri. On Scott's return, he sued in Missouri courts for his freedom. He argued that under state law a slave who resided in a free state was entitled to freedom under the principle of "once free, always free." The trial court agreed, but on appeal the Missouri Supreme Court made a highly questionable ruling against Scott. Scott then sued for his freedom in federal court. His case ultimately reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

After the Civil War ended, children born into slavery were free to attend school for the first time.

The court ruled 7-2 against Scott. Chief Justice Roger Taney, a strong believer in slavery, wrote the opinion of the court. He stated that the Missouri Supreme Court—not the U.S. Supreme Court—determined Missouri law, and according to that court, Scott was a slave. If Taney had stopped there, the decision would have been unremarkable. But he said much more. He denied that Scott had a right to sue in federal court because no African-American—free or slave—was a U.S. citizen. Further, Taney's opinion ruled that Scott had never been free, because the federal government did not have the power to outlaw slavery. The opinion thus concluded that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. In one decision, Taney tried to settle all the questions of slavery. But the decision just worsened the situation and left no room for compromise.

When Republican Abraham Lincoln won the presidency in 1860, most Southern states tried to secede from the Union and soon the Civil War began. As the bloody war ground on, Lincoln in 1863 issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves in the rebelling states. It didn't end slavery in the few slave states that remained loyal to the Union. But it gave power to the abolitionists' belief that the war should end slavery, and it furnished Union soldiers with a noble cause to fight for. At the war's end, three new amendments were added to the Constitution. As a condition of readmittance, the Southern states had to agree to ratify each amendment.

These amendments at long last wrote into the Constitution the ideals of equality expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery. (This is the only place in the Constitution where slavery is mentioned.) The 14th Amendment made everyone born in the United States a citizen. It also banned states from limiting the rights of citizens, from denying people equal protection under the law, and from depriving them "of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The 15th Amendment outlawed denying anyone the right to vote on the grounds of race or color.

These amendments expressed the ideals of equality, but enforcing them proved difficult. Following a 12-year period of occupation by federal troops, Southern states were left to govern themselves. To end black voting, they began imposing poll taxes and literacy tests that whites were exempted from. By 1910, all Southern states had excluded blacks from voting. In the 1890s, Southern states started enacting Jim Crow laws, which made it illegal for blacks and whites to share public facilities. This meant that blacks and whites had to use separate schools, hospitals, libraries, restaurants, hotels, bathrooms, and drinking fountains. In 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld these laws, ruling that "separate but equal" facilities were constitutional. The laws spread throughout the South. Most of them stayed in effect until the 1950s and 1960s, when the civil rights movement launched an all-out campaign against them. Ultimately, the U.S. Supreme Court declared these laws unconstitutional, and the U.S. Congress passed civil rights legislation ensuring equal rights for all citizens.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What is the role of the U.S. Supreme Court?
2. What were the Civil War amendments? What methods did the South use to get around them?
3. What, if anything, do you think the North should have done to help the newly freed slaves following the Civil War?

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A DIVERSE NATION

CHAPTER 2

The First Americans

The first people came to America 12,000 to 25,000 years ago. Most scientists believe they traveled on foot across treeless grasslands that formed a bridge between Siberia and Alaska. They hunted mammoths, bison, caribou, and reindeer. For thousands of years these tiny hunting bands meandered south, following game and adapting to the varied ecological systems of the vast, untouched continent. They had no idea they were introducing human life to the continent.

Gradually, America's first citizens spread from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost tip of South America. As they learned to domesticate plants and animals, their lives began to change. Settled village life replaced the restless travel of hunters and gatherers. The new farming societies produced more food, people, and leisure time.

When Columbus pulled his longboat onto the white sands of the Bahamas, the Americas had already been occupied for thousands of years. Its inhabitants had grown to number an estimated 15–40 million people. They had developed hundreds of tribal cultures and spoke 2,000 languages. Three to 5 million Native Americans lived north of the Rio Grande.

European and Native American cultures differed wildly. The two groups lived in completely separate worlds. Attitudes, appearances, material possessions, and modes of communication contrasted starkly. Native Americans shared the land with all living things. Europeans owned property. Indians looked upon trade as a show of good will between villages and tribes. Europeans understood good will as an important part of trade, but they considered exchanging goods to be a source of profit and material wealth.

Despite these conflicting world views, an elaborate exchange developed between Indian and European cultures. Some of these exchanges were negative. The European intrusion created much hostility. Europeans brought smallpox, measles, bubonic plague and other diseases to America. Native Americans introduced hepatitis and syphilis to European explorers.

In many ways, however, Europeans and Native Americans benefited from the meeting of cultures. Hundreds of varieties of fruits and vegetables–corn, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, chocolate, vanilla, tobacco, beans, pumpkins, peanuts, and more–made their way on board sailing ships and into the diets of Europeans. Native Americans were introduced to horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, chickens, honey bees, wheat, oats, soybeans, sugarcane, onions, and bananas.

Many Europeans were fascinated by Native American culture. This 16th century engraving captures an English settler's impression of America's native people.

This exchange extended far beyond food and animals. Native Americans made use of European iron and tempered-steel utensils, tools, and weapons. They adapted the horse to their lifestyles, particularly on the Great Plains. The Cherokee developed a written language with their own alphabet, a legal code based on Western law, and a local council government.

The two groups often formed curious, but mutually agreeable relationships. Native Americans guided early explorers through terrain that would have been impenetrable to the ill- or over-equipped Europeans. Native Americans formed alliances with European settlers that gave them the advantage over tribal rivals. During the Revolutionary War, woodlands tribes like the Iroquois fought for the British in an attempt to limit Yankee settlement of the Northeast.

PROFILE

SUSAN LAFLESCHE PICOTTE

(1865–1915)
Physician and public health advocate

Picotte was the first American Indian woman doctor. A brilliant student, she left the reservation at age 14, attended several schools, and graduated first in her class from medical school. She returned home to Nebraska and devoted her life to treating Indians, improving public health, and raising money to build a hospital on the reservation. Following her death, the hospital was renamed in her honor. Today, the building has been restored as the Susan LaFlesche Picotte Center and stands as a memorial to her.

After the British surrendered their claim to American soil, the new American government recognized that Indians had a legal right to land. New treaties named tribes as sovereign nations. These agreements promised goods and cash in exchange for Indian land. They also guaranteed that the remaining Indian land would stay in Indian hands. One such treaty promised the Cherokee nation that it would possess the land "as long as grass grows or water runs." Within decades, however, the U.S. government had written new laws nullifying its promises.

As more settlers encroached on Native American land, clashes took place. The Gold Rush carved a path through the land of the Plains Indians and led to the destruction of 90 percent of California's Native American population. The end of the Civil War increased European and Asian immigration. A transcontinental railroad brought Western civilization to the prairies, mountains, deserts, and seacoasts of the seemingly inexhaustible American wilderness. Tribes whose livelihood had depended on the buffalo for centuries saw their primary resource destroyed by white hunters in less than 30 years.

By the 1870s, the government had ceased dealing with Indian tribes as if they were sovereign nations. Battle or retreat were the only possible responses for tribes that had suffered massacres, broken treaties, and wholesale displacement. Gradually, the surviving tribes and individual descendants of the First Americans were forced onto reservations or were absorbed into American society.

Many Indians served with the U.S. military. They used their superior skills as trackers and scouts during the various Mexican campaigns and the Civil War. During World War I and II, many Indians fought bravely as American soldiers. In Europe and the South Pacific, Navajo soldiers spoke their native language to get radio and telephone messages past Japanese and German decoders.

Although the advance of Western culture almost totally subsumed the First Americans, their contributions to modern American life are unmistakable. Native American relationships to nature and the Earth serve as models for the modern-day environmental movement. Today, many scientists seriously examine Native American plant knowledge, fishing practices, irrigation, and forest management. Psychoanalysts are comparing Western and tribal legends. Legal experts are examining tribal justice systems such as victim retribution that might replace incarceration for minor offenses. The various forms of Native American art—painting, pottery, weaving, music, and dance—have enhanced American culture.

The rich evidence of Native American culture in the Western Hemisphere has challenged and given perspective to traditional notions of history. Today, we all understand that American history did not begin with Columbus' "discovery" of an island in the Caribbean. In addition, Native Americans practiced cultural diversity long before our modern society. More than 500 separate Indian nations have coexisted for centuries within territory now defined by the 48 continental United States, Alaska, and Hawaii.

Today, Native Americans are U.S. citizens. For several decades, they have been organizing to re-establish their rights as guaranteed in former treaties, the U.S. Constitution, and federal and state laws.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What were some cultural differences between Native Americans and the newly arrived Europeans of the 1500s?
2. How did Europeans and Native Americans both benefit and suffer from the interchange between their cultures?
3. What was the long-term outcome of the meeting of these cultures? Do you think this outcome was inevitable? Why or why not?

CIVIL CONVERSATION

SHOULD THE CENSUS BUREAU COLLECT STATISTICS ON RACE?

Every 10 years, the United States counts its population. Called the census, this national head count is required by the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Census Bureau collects statistics about age, marital status, national origin, educational levels, occupation, income, housing, and—race.

From the beginning, the Census Bureau has included race as a category. The first census in 1790 divided Americans into free white persons, slaves, and "other persons." Later, some nationalities, such as Mexicans and Filipinos were considered to be "races." From 1920 to 1940, Asian Indians were categorized as members of a "Hindu" race. From the 19th century to the 1920s, the census asked questions about whether people were one-half, one-quarter, or one-eighth black.

In recent years, the Census Bureau has used five main categories to describe race: Native American, Asian or Pacific Islander, black, white, and "other." An additional category, Hispanic, is considered an ethnic group, not a race.

For the 2000 census, the bureau has made two significant changes on race. It has added a separate category for Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians. In addition, it is allowing Americans to check more than one race on the census form. This recognizes that in today's society, more and more people come from mixed-race backgrounds.

Some people believe that the Census Bureau should drop its racial categories. They point out that there is little scientific basis to race. Race accounts for few genetic differences among people. People of the same race can differ much more genetically than people of different races. Even the Census Bureau states that its "racial categories . . . are not . . . scientifically based." Opponents say racial categorizing helps carry on America's obsession with race. If we really want to get beyond race, they argue, we should stop collecting racial statistics.

Those who favor keeping racial categories do not dispute that race is highly questionable scientifically. But, they say, racial discrimination has been a reality through much of America's history. They argue that keeping racial statistics has great importance. How else, they ask, can we keep track of whether our nation is improving on race? They say it's important to know, for example, the percentages of each race who are unemployed, in prison, or in poverty.

The census decision to allow people to check more than one race has drawn fire from both sides. Those against collecting any racial statistics naturally oppose it. But some who favor gathering racial statistics also oppose it. Much civil rights legislation depends on identifying individuals by race. Some minority groups fear that letting people check more than one race will lessen the relative number of minorities and weaken enforcement of anti-discrimination laws.

The questions remain: Should racial statistics be gathered by the U.S. Census Bureau? If so, should people be allowed to check more than one race on census forms?

CULTURE, RACE, AND ETHNICITY

In discussions of diversity, three words constantly arise—culture, race, and ethnicity. It's important to have an idea of their meaning.

Culture is learned. It refers to the accumulated knowledge, values, beliefs, and customs shared by a group of people.

Race refers to genetic characteristics. A traditional definition divides people into three races—Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid. According to many scientists, however, no definition of race accurately reflects significant genetic differences between groups of human beings.

Ethnicity describes characteristics that distinguish a smaller social group from a larger society or nation. These characteristics can be genetic or cultural. Ethnic characteristics can include race, culture, national origins, religion, and language. For example, among America's many ethnic groups are Italian Americans, Jews, African Americans, and Hispanics.

The Black Experience

In the mid-1500s, European mariners started bringing black Africans to America as slaves. This forced migration was unique in American history.

But the slave trade was not new to Europe or Africa. In the eighth century, Moorish merchants traded humans as merchandise throughout the Mediterranean. In addition, many West African peoples kept slaves. West African slaves were usually prisoners of war, criminals, or the lowest-ranked members of caste systems.

Harlem's Lenox Avenue in the 1920s. After the 1880s, rural Southern blacks migrated in ever-increasing numbers northward to settle in booming cities like New York and Chicago.

The capture and sale of Africans for the American slave markets were barbaric and often lethal. Two out of five West African captives died on the march to the Atlantic seacoast where they were sold to European slavers. On board the slave vessels, they were chained below decks in coffin-sized racks. Roughly one-third of them died at sea.

In America, they were sold at auction as plantation workers. Slave owners could punish slaves harshly. They could break up families by selling off family members.

Despite the hardships, slaves managed to develop a strong cultural identity. On plantations, all adults looked after all children. Although they risked separation, slaves frequently married and maintained strong family ties. Introduced to Christianity, they developed their own forms of worship.

Spirituals, the music of worship, expressed both slave endurance and religious belief. Slaves frequently altered the lyrics of spirituals to carry the hope of freedom or to celebrate resistance.

In time, African culture enriched much of American music, theater, and dance. African rhythms found their way into Christian hymns and European marches. The banjo evolved from an African stringed instrument. The sound of the blues is nothing more than a combination of African and European musical scales. Vaudeville was partially an extension of song-and-dance forms first performed by black street artists.

ABOLITION AND CIVIL WAR

In the 17th and 18th centuries, some blacks gained their freedom, acquired property, and gained access to American society. Many moved North, where slavery, although still legal, was less of a presence.

By the early 1800s, many whites and free blacks in Northern states began to call for the abolition of slavery. Frederick Douglass, a young slave, escaped to Massachusetts, where he became a powerful writer, editor, and lecturer for the growing abolitionist movement.

Douglass knew that slavery was not the South's burden to bear alone. The industrial North depended on the slave-based agriculture of the South. Douglass challenged his Northern audience to take up the cause against Southern slavery. "Are the great principles of political freedom and natural justice, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, extended to us?" he asked. "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July?"

When the Civil War began, many Northern blacks volunteered to fight for the Union. Some people expressed surprise at how fiercely black troops fought. But black soldiers were fighting for more than restoring the Union. They were fighting to liberate their people.

RECONSTRUCTION AND REACTION

With the defeat of the Confederacy, Northern troops remained in the South to ensure the slaves newly won freedom. Blacks started their own churches and schools, purchased land, and voted themselves into office. By 1870, African-Americans had sent 22 representatives to Congress.

But many Southerners soon reacted to black emancipation. Supported by the surviving white power structure, Ku Klux Klan members organized terrorist raids and lynchings. They burned homes, schools, and churches.

When Northern troops left in 1877, the white power structure returned. Within a couple of decades, this power structure succeeded in completely suppressing blacks. African Americans were excluded from voting. Southern states wrote Jim Crow laws that segregated blacks from white society. Blacks lived under constant threat of violence.

THE GREAT MIGRATION NORTH

Beginning in the 1890s, many blacks started moving North. World War I opened many factory jobs. In the 1920s, strict new laws drastically cut European immigration. The drop in immigration created a demand for industrial workers in the Northern cities. Southern blacks, still oppressed by segregation, migrated northward. Young black men took unskilled jobs in meat packing plants, steel mills, and on auto assembly lines in Chicago, Omaha, and Detroit.

Black workers unquestionably improved their lives in Northern cities. Indoor plumbing, gas heat, and nearby schools awaited many arrivals from the rural South. Discrimination also met them.

Yet black urban culture blossomed. Musicians like Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton, and King Oliver brought their music north from New Orleans. In the sophisticated urban atmosphere of Chicago, these jazz pioneers took advantage of improvements in musical instruments and new recording technologies to become celebrities in the Roaring '20s, also known as the Jazz Age.

Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant, preached black pride, racial separation, and a return to Africa. By the early 1920s, Garvey had an estimated 2 million followers, most of them Northern city dwellers.

Harlem, an uptown New York City neighborhood, drew black migrants from the South. Black commerce and culture thrived in Harlem. After World War I, a group of black writers, artists, and intellectuals gathered there. Like Garvey, many sought cultural identity in their African origins. Unlike Garvey, however, they had no desire to return to Africa. They found creative energy in the struggle to be both black and American.

This gathering of black artists and philosophers was called the Harlem Renaissance. Langston Hughes, a black novelist and poet, used the language of the ghetto and the rhythms of jazz to describe the African-American experience. Jazz continued to develop as a uniquely American art form in Harlem, where nightclubs like the Cotton Club featured great jazz composers like Duke Ellington and Fletcher Henderson. Their music lured whites uptown to Harlem to share the excitement of the Jazz Age.

The Depression brought many blacks and whites together for the first time. In cities, a half-million black Americans joined predominantly white labor unions. In the South, poor black and white farmers joined farmers' unions.

In 1941, African-American author Richard Wright wrote, "The differences between black folk and white folk are not blood or color, and the ties that bind us are deeper than those that separate us. The common road of hope which we all traveled has brought us into a stronger kinship than any words, laws, or legal claims."

Before the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, African Americans had already stepped up from bondage to make lasting contributions to American society. Their participation in the civil rights movement would help bring them further into the society that they had worked so hard to shape.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. Describe some of the struggles that African Americans have faced.
2. Name some African cultural influences that have been absorbed into American society. Which do you think are most important? Why?

PROFILE

ZORA NEALE HURSTON

(1891–1960)
Anthropologist, folklorist, and writer

Hurston's works celebrate African-American culture. Known as the "Queen of the Harlem Renaissance," Hurston had moved North from rural Florida. She graduated from two colleges before entering graduate school at Columbia University to study anthropology. Her career as an anthropologist took her throughout the South and Caribbean, collecting folklore and weaving it into literature. Interest in her work declined in her lifetime, but since her death she has gained the recognition she deserves.

The Mexican-American and Latino Experience

The great majority of U.S. Latinos are Mexican Americans. In the 1500s, Spanish conquistadors landed in the Caribbean Islands and ancient Mexico. Many gradually intermingled with native Americans to create a new mixture of Spanish and Indian blood called *mestizos*. The Spanish spread throughout Mexico, far down the continent of South America, and northward to lands that would later become part of the United States.

MISSIONS AND RANCHOS

For almost three centuries, Spanish missionaries and their settlements sustained the Spanish colonies. The first mission was established in 1565 in Saint Augustine, Florida. Gradually, the Spanish built missions throughout Texas, California, and the American Southwest.

The mission system was essential to the control of Spain's far-flung colonies west of the Mississippi River.

Each mission controlled thousands of acres. The hard work of clearing the land, erecting adobe buildings, tilling the soil, and raising livestock fell to the Indians. In return, Indians were taught Spanish, Christianity, and farming and ranching skills. In addition to food for its populace, during the 1700s a well-established mission produced a profitable surplus. Excess blankets, leather goods, wine, and pottery were sold locally or shipped south to the capital in Mexico City.

By 1800, the mission system had stretched to its limit. Long distances from Mexico City made administration difficult. In addition, priests and mission soldiers drew criticism from the capital for exploiting and abusing Indians. As Spain's ability to rule its vast American colonies declined, so did the missions.

In 1784, Mexico City started awarding grants of land in the Southwest to aristocratic Spanish families and soldiers who had served Spain's colonial efforts. Many grant recipients developed their land into productive, self-sufficient *ranchos*. They often ruled like feudal lords over Indian farmhands and small armies of cowboys, called *vaqueros*. The ranchos quickly replaced the missions as the economic and cultural centers of Mexico's northern territories.

By 1820, Spain had lost its ability to control its Mexican colonies. In 1821, a new Mexican republic, inspired by the American and French revolutions, celebrated its independence. Spain abandoned much of its American empire.

Meanwhile, the United States was pushing its frontiers west. By 1830 in Texas, white American settlers outnumbered their Mexican hosts. Many of them brought slaves to Texas, which violated Mexican law. This violation caused hostility between the settlers and the Mexican government. In 1835, white settlers and a number of Mexican Texans, called *Tejanos*, joined forces in rebellion against the Mexican government.

Mexico's powerful general Santa Ana marched an army north from Mexico City to defeat the rebels. He confronted them at the Alamo, a small, well-fortified mission near San Antonio. Santa Ana launched a costly assault on the Alamo.

Mexican forces sustained heavy casualties at the Alamo before capturing and executing several rebels, including Davy Crockett. One month later, General Santa Ana was captured and forced to sign a treaty recognizing Texas as an independent republic. Unfortunately, following the victory, many *Tejanos* were discriminated against. Some were even forced off the land they had fought for.

In 1842, the government of Texas asked to be brought into the United States, and six years later, Congress granted it statehood. Mexico considered this annexation a declaration of war, but its forces were no match for American troops. In 1848, Mexico surrendered to invading American forces at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a tiny village outside Mexico City.

"THE BORDER CROSSED US"

There is an old Mexican-American saying: "We didn't cross the border; the border crossed us." Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans residing in the new American territories became U.S. citizens. The United States gained millions of acres that would later become Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

New settlers immediately entered the land. Gold—discovered just weeks before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—drew thousands to California. The new transcontinental railroad brought more white settlers to the former Mexican territories in the Southwest. The railroads needed labor to extend their lines across the Southwest. They looked to Mexico for labor, particularly after the Exclusion Act of 1882 stopped the flow of Chinese laborers from across the Pacific.

After 1909, the violence of the Mexican Revolution drove many Mexicans northward. Some found work in the fields of the Southwest. Others filled the need for industrial workers in the booming California economy. When World War I and the new immigration laws of the 1920s halted European immigration, Mexicans entered the industrial labor markets of Chicago, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. Nearly three-quarters of a million people, 10 percent of the population of Mexico, immigrated to the United States between 1910 and 1930.

World War II proved to be a turning point for Mexican Americans. The war effort and the fight against fascism gave Mexican Americans an opportunity to actively take part in American society. Mexican Americans, like their African-American counterparts, began to lay the groundwork for the civil rights struggles of the 1960s.

Muralist Diego Rivera is well-known for works of art that celebrate the history and culture of Mexico.

Mexican-American culture is one of America's oldest. Spanish and Mexican pioneers established many historical milestones. Spanish explorers and their Indian guides charted Florida, the Mississippi River, the Grand Canyon, and more. The first integrated public school was established in Saint Augustine in 1787.

Many monuments to this early mix of European and Indian cultures still stand. The oldest city in America, Saint Augustine, also boasts the oldest home, the oldest hospital, and the oldest school. The oldest state capital is Santa Fe, founded by Mexicans in 1610.

It is impossible to separate the contributions that each Latino culture—Cuban Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and others—has made to American society. American English has adopted many Spanish words—from *alpaca* and *barbecue* to *tornado* and *vigilante*. Place names like *San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento*, even the *Oceano Pacifico* celebrate the long-standing influence of Spanish-speaking peoples in America.

Latin-American literature has risen to prominence. Writers like Luis Rodriguez, Sandra Cisneros, and Rudolfo Anaya explore themes of assimilation and cultural identity. Spanish-language newspapers sell hundreds of thousands

GLOSSARY

Chicano—a person of Mexican descent living in the United States. A term adopted by participants in the Chicano Movement (see pages 37-39).

Hispanic—adopted for use by the U.S. Census Bureau. Refers to people living in the United States who are Latinos or are from Spain or Portugal.

Latin American—a person from the Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Latino—a person of Latin-American descent living in the United States.

Mestizo—a person of mixed Spanish and Native American ancestry.

Mexican American—a politically neutral term for an American of Mexican descent.

PROFILE

ELFEGO BACA

(1865–1945)
Legendary Western lawman

Baca championed law and order and the rights of Latinos in the New Mexico Territory. He first gained fame when, as a young U.S. marshal, he single-handedly fought off 80 cowboys in a gun fight lasting 36 hours. As sheriff of Socorro County, he started sending accused criminals letters advising them to turn themselves in by a certain date or else. His reputation was so strong that almost all turned themselves in. Baca went on to become a lawyer, mayor, and district attorney.

of copies a day in large cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles. American film and theater has been enriched by Latino actors, writers, and producers like Edward James Olmos, Chita Rivera, and Luis Valdez and by theater groups like *Teatro Campesino* and Culture Clash.

Latin rhythms are also completely intermingled with rock 'n' roll, country, and jazz. Crossover artists like Richie Valens, Gloria Estefan, and Linda Ronstadt have drawn on their roots to create music that is both Latin and American.

Folk art has a rich tradition in the Southwest and manifests itself in wood carving, sculpture, and painting. Murals across the Southwest depict images of Mexican and Mexican-American history from pre-Columbian life to scenes from modern times. These murals carry on a tradition developed by great Mexican muralists like Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, and David Siqueiros.

Over the centuries, Mexican Americans have exerted a powerful influence on the culture, politics, and economy of American society. Simultaneously, they have developed an independent culture, shaped by their American experience. In the words of historian Frank de Varona, "Mexican Americans are not simply Mexicans who happen to live in America. They have a homegrown Mexican-American culture all their own . . . ."

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What is a Latino? A Chicano? A Hispanic?
2. In what ways is Mexican-American immigration to the United States unique?
3. What do you think are the most important contributions Latinos have made to American society?

Asian-American Immigrants

America has received many immigrants from Asia, the largest and most populous continent. From the 19th century until World War II, the three countries sending the most immigrants were China, Japan, and the Phillippines.

In the 1850s, China seemed on the verge of collapse. Peasant rebellions were disrupting traditional Chinese society. British warships had devastated China's seaports during the Opium Wars. Flood and famine ravaged the countryside. Southern China, particularly the area around Canton, suffered the most. It was from here that most of the first wave of Chinese immigrants came, lured by the California Gold Rush. The Chinese characters for California translate literally as "gold mountain."

In the 1860s, a second wave of Chinese immigrants took jobs in the California Sierras as construction workers on the Central Pacific Railroad. Working conditions proved brutal and many died from accidents.

Although they intended to return home, most Chinese immigrants could not afford to do so from their first mining and railroad jobs. Instead, they moved to large American cities like San Francisco and New York. They took new jobs as domestic servants and agricultural, laundry, and factory workers.

Most organized themselves in family associations, based on the clan system in Chinese villages. These family associations, often known as the Chinese Six Companies, became the advocate for the entire Chinese-American community. The Six Companies helped new arrivals find jobs and housing. They fed the hungry, cared for the sick and elderly, and arranged for the dead to be buried back home in China.

A depression in the 1870s crippled the American economy. Unemployed Americans turned against the newcomers, who were willing to work at lower wages than many white workers. Their non-Western behavior and customs set them apart. Some became victims of racial violence.

Strong anti-Chinese sentiments culminated in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. It made all Chinese ineligible to become American citizens. It banned the entry of Chinese laborers, required registration and passports for all Chinese, and forbade the wives of laborers from joining their husbands in America. The Exclusion Act froze the Chinese community for more than half a century, making it essentially a bachelor society. By 1890, the ratio of Chinese men to women was 30 to 1.

The Chinese worked hard to protect their rights and their communities. In San Francisco, the Six Companies hired American lawyers to defend Chinese interests. Stranded without the hope of bringing wives to America, Chinese immigrants created new families by traveling to China and returning with youngsters whom they claimed were their children.

PICTURE BRIDES AND A "GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT"

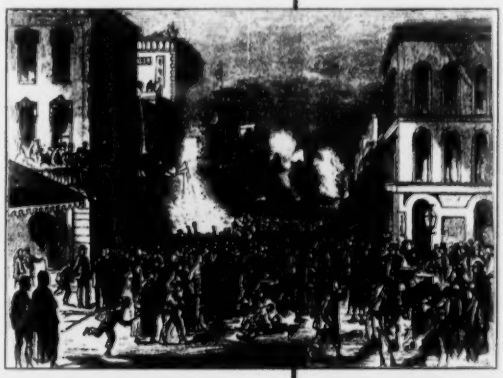
Different factors pushed many Japanese immigrants to America. Following exposure to Western trade during the 1850s, Japanese society underwent powerful economic and social changes. The Japanese government, bent on industrializing the country, adopted policies that forced many farmers off their lands. Many went to Hawaii to work as contract laborers in the sugar plantations. Others, attracted by offers of good pay, came to the United States. They harvested fruit and vegetables, worked in logging camps, built railroads, and worked as fishermen and cannery workers.

Japanese immigrants experienced a reception in America similar to that of the Chinese. At first they were welcome. But as their numbers increased, Americans began to resent their presence. But unlike China, Japan had great economic and political power. The U.S. government did not want to jeopardize relations with Japan and did not impose an Exclusion Act on Japanese immigrants. Instead, a "Gentleman's Agreement" was adopted in 1907. It excluded further male Japanese immigration as "detrimental to labor conditions in the United States." Women and relatives of Japanese aliens were allowed to immigrate. Thousands of male Japanese immigrants married "picture brides," women they had selected from photographs and married by proxy. This influx of female Japanese immigrants allowed Japanese Americans to raise families in the United States.

IMMIGRATION FROM THE PHILLIPPINES

Filipinos differed from their Asian peers. After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Philippines became an American colony. Filipinos were recognized as U.S. nationals, a status below full citizenship that allowed them to migrate anywhere within the United States.

Similar to the Chinese and Japanese, most Filipino immigrants came to America because of economic hardships at home. American annexation of the Philippines caused a change in land ownership policies, forcing many tenant farmers and others off their land. Economic opportunity beckoned in the United States.



Citizens of San Francisco fill the streets to celebrate Chinese New Year, 1871

Asian immigrants often met more resistance than their European counterparts. Racism focused on their physical appearance and "strange" customs. Fears of the "yellow peril" added to the hostility created by competition for jobs. Despite discrimination, Asian immigrants slowly but steadily gained access to American society during the 1930s, particularly on the West Coast.

Conditions for Japanese Americans worsened after Japan's surprise and devastating attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Two months later, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. It called for the removal of all persons of Japanese descent from Pacific coastal areas. U.S. officials believed that some Japanese immigrants and even some Japanese Americans might be swayed by patriotic loyalty to Japan. They reasoned that anyone of Japanese descent had the potential to aid a Japanese invasion of the Pacific coast.

Approximately 100,000 Japanese Americans were evacuated from their homes in California, Oregon, and Washington and transported to internment camps. These barracks-style

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Diversity Checklist: Immigrant Stories
B I O

The United States is a nation of immigrants. Almost everyone has come to America from another place. Some have come recently. Others have been here for generations, even centuries. Many people know enough about their family history to create a profile of their immigrant experience. Below are some questions you can use to gather information about the immigrant experience of a friend, relative, or historical figure.

Beginning questions about the country the person's family came from:

1. Where did this person's family come from?
2. What was life like in this country?
3. Why did the family (or person) decide to immigrate?

Immigration questions:

4. When did the family (or person) immigrate? Who immigrated?
5. What route and means of transportation did the immigrants take? What was the journey like?
6. What hopes did the immigrants have about coming to America?

Outcome in America questions:

7. Where in the United States did the family originally settle? Where else in America did the family live?
8. What challenges or obstacles did the family (or person) encounter?
9. What did the person accomplish in America?

communities were hastily built in harsh desert surroundings without consideration for privacy or family life. Surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, many Japanese Americans remained prisoners in the internment camps until the war's end in 1945. When they returned home, many found their property had been taken, sold, or destroyed.

Despite the injustice of internment, many American-born Japanese volunteered for combat duty in Europe. The all-Nisei 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team became two of the most highly decorated units in American military history. In 1988, the federal government finally apologized and paid reparations to internee survivors for their losses.

After World War II, Asian Americans benefited greatly by a liberalizing of American immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1965, for example, abolished nationality quotas. Refugees from Southeast Asia–Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotians, Cambodians–could escape their troubled homelands and start new lives in the United States. Many immigrants came from other Asian countries, such as Korea, Thailand, India, and Pakistan. In the 1960s, Asian Americans also benefited from the expansion of civil rights and the trend toward greater racial equality. The admission of Hawaii to statehood in 1959 sent several Asian Americans to Congress.

Many contemporary Asian Americans have made notable contributions to American society. The Vietnam War Memorial was designed by Maya Lin, a then-21-year-old architecture student. Yo Yo Ma is a renowned cellist whose repertoire begins with European classical

PROFILE

DANIEL K. INOUYE

(1924–)
War hero and U.S. senator from Hawaii

Inouye was the first Japanese American to serve in Congress. In 1943 during World War II, Inouye enlisted in the U.S. Army. Sent to Europe, he joined the mostly Japanese-American "Go for Broke" Regiment, one of the most highly decorated units in U.S. military history. Leading a charge, he was severely wounded, losing his right arm. He returned home as a captain with 15 medals. When Hawaii became a state in 1959, he won election to the House of Representatives and in 1962 to the U.S. Senate.

music and ventures forth to include jazz, American folk music, and even rock 'n' roll. Michelle Kwan has represented the United States at several Winter Olympics as a champion figure skater. Jerry Yang is co-founder of Yahoo!, a well-known Internet service. Benjamin Cayetano is the governor of Hawaii. Maxine Hong Kingston (*The Woman Warrior*) writes about the Asian immigrant experience. Yuan T. Lee won a Nobel Prize in chemistry. Ellison Onizuka was born in Hawaii, studied at the University of Colorado, and died when the Challenger space shuttle exploded in 1986.

The list goes on, but the message is clear: A century after they first set foot here, Asian immigrants and their descendants have become an integral part of American society.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What caused the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos to immigrate to the United States?
2. How were their experiences in America similar? How were they different?
3. What forms of official discrimination did these groups face? How do you think people at the time justified this discrimination?

European Immigration: Irish, Jews, and Italians

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to be free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

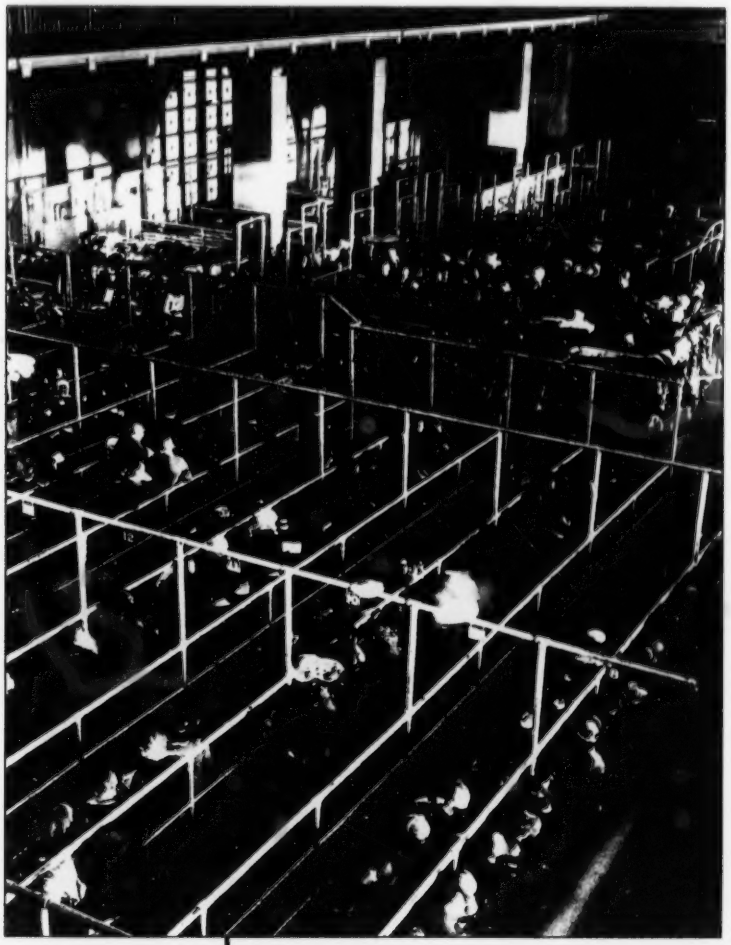
—Inscription for the Statue of Liberty, New York Harbor, written by poet Emma Lazarus

Millions of Europeans crossed the Atlantic to settle in America between 1820 and 1924—the century of immigration. Two great waves of immigrants marked this period. In the mid-19th century, the Irish began entering America in large numbers. At the turn of the century, Italians and Eastern European Jews started their epic migration. In 1921, Congress voted to cut immigration by limiting the number of immigrants from each nation. The National Origins Act of 1924 reduced total immigration to just 165,000 persons per year. This ended America's century of immigration.

These immigrants faced many obstacles in America. Most came from poor European villages to large American cities. They would have to adjust to life in a swiftly industrializing country. In addition, most Americans were Protestants. The Irish and Italians as Roman Catholics faced religious discrimination. The Jews would have to overcome anti-Semitic prejudices.

THE IRISH: PIONEERS OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

In the 19th century, most of Ireland's people farmed on family plots of land. As the Irish population grew, family plots of farmland shrunk. But rents grew higher, forcing Irish farmers to sell most of their grain and produce. Irish farm families learned to subsist on a new, easy-to-grow vegetable brought to Europe from America—the potato. One acre of potatoes would feed a family of six, but potatoes were vulnerable to an underground fungus, commonly called the "potato blight." The blight had rotted Irish potatoes before, so



Ellis Island, 1906. Immigrants wait on numbered benches to be processed for entry into the United States.

when it struck in 1845, it came as no surprise. But this time, the blight stretched into the next growing season, forcing families to eat their seed potatoes.

In 1847, the blight abated, but the famine raged on. By 1851, 1–1.5 million Irish men, women, and children had died of hunger and disease. An equal number of Irish farmers and villagers emigrated, mostly to America.

The migration was dangerous. The ships that plied the seas between Europe and America were not designed for passenger travel. Thousands died at sea as cargo ships, overloaded with immigrants, foundered in the stormy Atlantic. "Ship fever," thought to be caused by crowded conditions aboard ship, turned out to be typhus and cholera brought aboard by famine-weakened immigrants. These plagues flourished in the stifling "steerage" quarters below decks.

Like most immigrants, the Irish landed in America at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. They were poor Catholic peasants with few marketable skills in an overwhelmingly Protestant and rapidly industrializing society. To survive, they took work as laborers and servants in the new cities of the Northeast. Through the next decades, until well after the Civil War, Irish workers contributed mightily to America's growing network of canals, railways, rural highways, city streets, sewers, and waterworks.

Most of the first Irish immigrants were men. Women remained in Ireland earning a living in cottage industries, weaving and sewing. In the 1860s the rapid growth of the English textile industry caused a decline in Irish cottage industries. Pioneer Irish immigrants urged their daughters and sisters to come to a land where "there's love and liberty." Irish women made the crossing in increasing numbers to join their families and take employment as domestic servants and textile workers.

In the post-Civil War years, Irish Americans found their fortunes improving. As American industry expanded, Irish laborers advanced into skilled trades. Irish workers were promoted to foremen, known as "straw bosses," who acted as contacts for new arrivals from the old country. Irish Americans added strength to the new trade union movement, and they often ran for political office in local government. In the 1880s and '90s, many Irish Americans found municipal jobs in cities like New York, Boston, and Chicago.

Irish-American politicians developed a reputation for being corrupt, but in fact, most ward bosses and borough politicians rose to power by loyally supporting their immigrant constituents. They handed out food, jobs, housing, and legal and medical aid to needy newcomers, while the "good government" politicians staunchly opposed social-welfare spending. Irish-American voters gave their support to these bosses and political machines because they best represented their interests.

In time, Irish-American politicians would reach higher offices. One of the most popular Irish politicians was Al Smith, the four-time governor of New York. In 1928, he ran as the Democratic candidate for president. In 1960, John F. Kennedy would be the first Irish Catholic elected president.

THE JEWS: WANDERERS IN A PROMISED LAND

Throughout history, Jews have been scapegoated, or falsely blamed, for a broad array of political, economic, and social crises. In 1881, the Russian government held Jews responsible for the assassination of Czar Alexander II. In retaliation, it sponsored *pogroms*, murderous attacks on Jewish villages. It also passed laws restricting Jewish residency, occupations, and education in Russia. Additional decrees banished 20,000 Jews from Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other large Russian cities.

In 1905, more social unrest inflamed by a failed revolution in Russia, more pogroms, and the Russo-Japanese War pushed 150,000 Russian Jews to begin a new life in America. They were joined by Jews from other Eastern European countries who were also fleeing religious hostility. Jews who left were young, eager, and energetic. Almost half were women. Those with industrial skills were more likely to emigrate than merchants. Two-thirds of Eastern European Jewish immigrants had marketable skills that they could use in the New World.

At the end of the 19th century, most immigrants passed through Ellis Island in New York harbor. A brief interview and physical examination determined where the subject had come from and whether he or she was healthy. At peak times, the process could turn into bedlam, with thousands of immigrants going through in a single day. Between 1892 and 1932, 12 million immigrants passed through. Only a small minority of immigrants were sent back, primarily for health reasons. Today, more than 40 percent of Americans can trace their roots to an ancestor who came through Ellis Island.

Most new arrivals from Eastern Europe remained in Northeastern cities like Boston and New York and joined the ranks of the working poor. By 1910, 500,000 Jews had settled into 1.5 square miles of Manhattan's Lower East Side. The city streets of the Jewish ghetto took on the sights, sounds, and smells of the *shtetl*, the self-contained rural communities Jews had abandoned in Eastern Europe.

Unlike other immigrant groups, Eastern European Jews usually found themselves working for Jewish employers and paying rent to Jewish landlords. A small contingent of European Jews, especially German Jews, had already established themselves in America as property owners and business people. These established immigrants helped the new arrivals from Eastern Europe. By the turn of the century, Jews owned nearly all the factories in New York's burgeoning garment industry, and Jews made up about 75 percent of their workers.

Once they arrived, many Jewish immigrants quickly improved their lives. By 1908, nearly 40 percent of them worked in white-collar jobs. A few Jewish entrepreneurs traveled west to become pioneers in Hollywood's infant film industry. The Yiddish theater transferred its influence from Europe to New York. Jewish creative talent blossomed in film, theater, music, and in social reform.

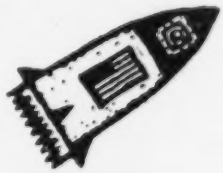
During the Depression era of the 1930s, progress was uneven for Jewish immigrants. Roughly 35 percent of American Jews remained in blue-collar jobs. Many second-generation Jews held lower-level jobs as clerks, stenographers, or sales personnel. About 10 percent of second-generation Jews pursued higher education and entered professions as doctors and lawyers. In the next generations, American Jews would accomplish much in labor, law, medicine, education, entertainment, and the social services. They would confront anti-Semitism and extend a sympathetic hand to new immigrant groups.

In the words of historian Neal Gabler, "Above all things, they wanted to be regarded as Americans, not Jews; they wanted to reinvent themselves. . . . They would create . . . an America where families were stable, people attractive, resilient, resourceful, and decent."

PROFILE

JUDITH A. RESNIK

(1949–1986)
Electrical engineer and astronaut



Resnik was the second American woman to fly in space. The daughter of Jewish immigrants from Russia, Resnik studied to be a classical pianist, but in college decided to pursue a career as an electrical engineer, ultimately gaining a PhD. When NASA announced that women could apply to be astronauts, she signed up and was accepted. Her first space mission, the 1984 maiden flight of the orbiter Discovery, lasted seven days. In 1986, she tragically died along with six other crew members when the Challenger exploded shortly after launch.

PROFILE

FIORELLO LAGUARDIA

(1882–1947)
Mayor of New York City

In a recent survey of historians and political scientists, Fiorello LaGuardia was selected as the best mayor of a big city in American history. The son of Italian immigrants, the energetic LaGuardia served in Congress before becoming mayor of New York City in 1933. In his three terms as mayor, LaGuardia rooted out corruption in city government and helped the city build parks, low-income housing, bridges, schools, and hospitals as well as its transportation system and its first airport (later named LaGuardia).

ITALIANS: IMMIGRATION ON A MASSIVE SCALE

Italy has had a long relationship with America. In the 1500s, seafaring Italians made names for themselves as explorers of the New World. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, "discovered" America. A Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci gave his name to both continents in the New World. Giovanni Caboto, often identified as John Cabot, "discovered" the New England coast, and Giovanni da Verrazano was the first European to sail into New York harbor. Despite their accomplishments, Italian explorers usually claimed their conquests for Spain and France. That was because Italy was a collection of disconnected city states.

By 1848, attempts at national unification had swept across Europe. Italy remained divided, its districts struggling with ancient rivalries. For many, this social unrest in Italy led to immigration to America, particularly from the poverty-stricken south. In the single decade of the 1880s, three times as many immigrants made the crossing as had ever come before. That number doubled in the 1890s and reached 2 million in the first decade of the 1900s, most of them males. By this decade, Italian immigrants had grown to represent more than 10 percent of America's foreign-born.

By 1890, Italian immigrants had replaced the Irish in the unskilled labor market. Like the Jews and Irish, Italian newcomers often found work through *padrones*, labor contractors who had made the crossing earlier and had become established in America. Many Italian Americans joined the growing American labor movement.

Unlike the Irish, few politicians initially rose out of the Italian-American community. Some scholars attribute this to their late arrival in the wave of 19th-century immigration. Also, many Italians dreamed of returning to Italy. Gaining citizenship and participating in American politics meant relinquishing that dream. Nevertheless, one Italian American, Fiorello LaGuardia, was elected to Congress from a partly Italian district of Manhattan. He became one of the nation's best-known political leaders as mayor of New York. Today, many Italian Americans play important roles in our democracy, such as Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and U.S. Senator from New Jersey Robert Torricelli.

Like other immigrants, most Italians at first lived together in separate neighborhoods, centered on the parish Catholic church. Today, many cities still have a Little Italy, with restaurants, festivals, and music (from opera to Sinatra) preserving the culture.

For most Italian Americans, the massive immigration of their ancestors has evolved into a model American success story. Italian Americans have integrated with and contributed to American society while managing to maintain a love and respect for their own, distinct culture.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What caused these various European groups to immigrate to America?
2. What are *padrones*? What did they do?
3. How were the experiences in America of the Irish, Jews, and Italian immigrants similar? How were they different?

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 3

Social Protests

The modern civil rights movement in America took place from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s. This turbulent period transformed America, changing it into a society with greater racial equality. The civil rights movement first focused on overturning the South's legal segregation, its so-called Jim Crow laws. Later, it turned toward fighting racial discrimination in housing and employment, problems that affected the entire nation.

This huge sprawling movement can be divided into three strategic areas. One is social activism—the protests, demonstrations, and boycotts. Another is the legal struggle that took place in courts. The third occurred in the legislative arena, getting Congress and the president to enact civil rights laws and enforce them.

The three areas interacted. The social protests led to arrests, resulting in court cases, which in turn led to court rulings outlawing segregation. The protests, with all their publicity, also helped force Congress and the president to act. The process also worked in reverse. New laws and court decisions, if ignored, caused more protests.

The civil rights movement grew out of a long history of social protest. In the South, any protest risked violent retaliation. Even so, between 1900 and 1950, community leaders in many Southern cities protested segregation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the leading civil rights organization of this era, battled racism by lobbying for federal anti-lynching legislation and challenging segregation laws in court.

Following World War II, a great push to end segregation began. The NAACP grew from 50,000 to half a million members. The walls of segregation that existed outside the South started crumbling. In 1947, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in Major League Baseball and soon black athletes participated in all professional sports. In 1948, President Harry S. Truman ordered the integration of the armed forces.

The greatest victory occurred in 1954. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional separate schools for blacks and whites. This deeply shocked many Southern whites. White Citizens Councils, joined by prominent citizens, sprouted throughout the South. They vowed that integration would never take place. In this atmosphere, the social protests of the civil rights movement were born.

THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

In December 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, one of the first major protests began. Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give her bus seat to a white passenger, as required by the city's segregation laws. Although often depicted as a weary older woman too tired to get up and move, Parks was actually a longtime, active member of the NAACP. A committed civil rights activist, she decided that she was not going to move. She was arrested and jailed for her defiant and courageous act.

In August 1963, the movement that had begun with the Montgomery bus boycott mobilized an estimated 500,000 people for the March on Washington.

The NAACP saw Parks' arrest as an opportunity to challenge segregation laws in a major Southern city. The NAACP called on Montgomery's black political and religious leaders to advocate a one-day boycott protesting her arrest. More than 75 percent of Montgomery's black residents regularly used the bus system. On the day of the boycott, only eight blacks rode Montgomery's buses.

The success of the one-day boycott inspired black leaders to organize a long-term boycott. They demanded an end to segregation on the city's buses. Until this demand was met,

blacks would refuse to ride Montgomery's buses. A young Baptist minister named Martin Luther King Jr. led the boycott.

Car pools were organized to get black participants to work. Many walked where they needed to go. After a month, Montgomery's businesses were beginning to feel the boycott's effects. Some segregationists retaliated. Blacks were arrested for walking on public sidewalks. Bombs exploded in four black churches. King's home was firebombed.

Black and white protesters stage a sit-in at a Jackson, Mississippi lunch counter. At sit-ins like these, protesters endured threats, taunts, and sometimes even violence.

King conceived of a strategy of non-violence and civil disobedience to resist the violent opposition to the boycott. In school, Henry David Thoreau's writings on civil disobedience had deeply impressed King. But King did not believe the Christian idea of "turning the other cheek" applied to social action until he studied the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who introduced the "weapon" of non-violence during India's struggle for independence from Great Britain. "We decided to raise up only with the weapon of protest," King said. "It is one of the greatest glories of America. . . . Don't let anyone pull you so low as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love." The tactic of non-violence proved effective in hundreds of civil rights protests in the racially segregated South.

The Montgomery bus boycott lasted 382 days. It ended when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation on the city's buses was unconstitutional.

The success of the boycott propelled King to national prominence and to leadership in the civil rights movement. When some Southern black ministers established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, they chose King as its leader. The SCLC continued to lead non-violent boycotts, demonstrations, and marches protesting segregation throughout the South.

THE SIT-INS

In February 1960, four black college freshmen sat down at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and politely asked to be served. They were ignored but remained seated until the counter closed. The next day they returned with more students, who sat peacefully at the counter waiting to be served. They, like the protesters in Montgomery, were practicing non-violent civil disobedience. The Greensboro lunch-counter demonstrations were called "sit-ins." As word of them spread, other students in cities throughout the South started staging sit-ins. By April 1960, more than 50,000 students had joined sit-ins.

The tactic called for well-dressed and perfectly behaved students to enter a lunch counter and ask for service. They would not move until they were served. If they were arrested, other students would take their place. Students in Nashville, Tennessee, created some basic rules for sit-ins:

> Do show yourself friendly on the counter at all times.
>
> Do sit straight and always face the counter.
>
> Don't strike back, or curse back if attacked.
>
> Don't laugh out.
>
> Don't hold conversations.
>
> Don't block entrances.

Students in many cities endured taunts, arrests, and even beatings. But their persistence paid off. Many targeted businesses began to integrate.

In October 1960, black students across the nation formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—pronounced "snick") to carry on the work that students had begun in the Greensboro sit-ins. SNCC operated throughout the deep South, organizing demonstrations, teaching in "freedom schools," and registering voters.

THE FREEDOM RIDE

Some of the most dangerous and dramatic episodes of the civil rights movement took place on the Freedom Ride. This was organized in 1961 by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights group committed to direct, non-violent action. More than a decade earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court had declared segregation on interstate buses and in inter-

state terminals unconstitutional. Despite this decision, the buses and stations remained rigidly segregated.

In May 1961, black and white freedom riders boarded buses bound for Southern states. At each stop, they planned to enter the segregated areas. CORE Director James Farmer said: "We felt we could count on the racists of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law." At first, the riders met little resistance. But in Alabama, white supremacists surrounded one of the freedom riders' buses, set it afire, and attacked the riders as they exited. Outside Birmingham, Alabama, a second bus was stopped. Eight white men boarded the bus and savagely beat the non-violent freedom riders with sticks and chains.

When he heard about the violence, President Kennedy sent federal agents to protect the freedom riders. Although the president urged the freedom riders to stop, they refused. Regularly met by mob violence and police brutality, hundreds of freedom riders were beaten and jailed. Although the Freedom Ride never reached its planned destination, New Orleans, it achieved its purpose. At the prodding of the Kennedy administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the integration of all interstate bus, train, and air terminals. Signs indicating "colored" and "white" sections came down in more than 300 Southern stations.

BIRMINGHAM

In 1963, Martin Luther King announced that the SCLC would travel to Birmingham, Alabama, to integrate public and commercial facilities. In defiance of Supreme Court orders, Birmingham had closed its public parks, swimming pools, and golf courses rather than integrate them. Its restaurants and lunch counters remained segregated.

Peaceful demonstrators singing "We Shall Overcome" met an enraged white populace and an irate police chief named Eugene "Bull" Connor. Day after day, more demonstrators, including King, were thrown in jail. After a month, African-American youth, aged 6 to 18, started demonstrating. They too were jailed, and when the jails filled, they were held in school buses and vans. As demonstrations continued, Connor had no place left to house prisoners. Americans watched the evening news in horror as Connor used police dogs, billy clubs, and high-pressure fire hoses to get the young demonstrators off the streets. As tension mounted, city and business leaders gave in. They agreed to desegregate public facilities, hire black employees, and release all the people in jail.

Freedom riders traveled through the South challenging segregation laws. This bus was firebombed by white supremacists when it stopped to fix a flat tire.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The violence in Birmingham and elsewhere in the South prompted the Kennedy administration to act. It proposed a civil rights bill outlawing segregation in public facilities and discrimination in employment. The bill faced solid opposition from Southern members of Congress. In response, civil rights leaders organized a massive march on Washington, D.C. On August, 28, 1963, hundreds of thousands of Americans traveled to the nation's capital to demonstrate for civil rights. The peaceful march culminated in a rally where civil rights leaders demanded equal opportunity for jobs and the full implementation of constitutional rights for racial minorities. Martin Luther King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. It inspired thousands of people to increase their efforts and thousands of others to join the civil rights movement for the first time. Full press and television coverage brought the March on Washington to international attention.

In July 1964, President Johnson, surrounded by civil rights leaders, signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. This was the most important civil rights act since Reconstruction, almost a hundred years earlier.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Much of the civil rights movement focused on voting rights. Since Reconstruction, Southern states had systematically denied African

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Non-violent tactics require courage. Here, a 17-year-old civil rights demonstrator in Birmingham, Alabama is attacked by police dogs.

Americans the right to vote. Perhaps the worst example was Mississippi, the poorest state in the nation. Many Mississippi counties had no registered black voters. Blacks lived under the constant threat of violence. Medgar Evers, a major civil rights leader in Mississippi, was murdered outside his home in 1963.

In 1964, SNCC and other civil rights organizations turned their attention to Mississippi. They planned to register Mississippi blacks to vote, organize a Freedom Democratic Party to challenge the whites-only Mississippi Democratic party, establish freedom schools, and open community centers where blacks could obtain legal and medical assistance.

In June, only days after arriving in Mississippi, three Freedom Summer workers disappeared. They had been arrested for speeding and then released. On August 4, their bodies were found buried on a farm. The discovery directed the media's attention to Mississippi, just two weeks before the Democratic National Convention was scheduled to begin.

A major dispute over the Mississippi delegation was brewing. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had elected delegates to attend the convention. They demanded to be seated in place of the segregationist Mississippi Democrats. Ultimately, a compromise was struck, but the power struggle at the convention raised the issue of voting rights before the entire nation.

SELMA

In December 1964, the SCLC started a voter-registration campaign in Selma, Alabama. Although blacks outnumbered whites in Selma, few were registered to vote. For almost two months, Martin Luther King led marches to the courthouse to register voters. The sheriff responded by jailing the demonstrators, including King. The SCLC got a federal court order to stop the sheriff from interfering, but election officials still refused to register any blacks.

Diversity Checklist: Problem Solving
A B L E

Problems among groups, like other problems, can be confronted and solved. It takes skill and patience to tackle many problems. Use the tips in ABLE to help you solve problems.

Analyze. Take a good look at the problem. Discuss it with others. What are your goals? What results do you want to achieve? Are there any outcomes that you want to prevent? Write down your goals in order of importance.

Brainstorm. What could you do to achieve your goals? Brainstorm a list of ways you could respond to the situation.

Limit. Limit your list to those items that have the most promise. Try to get your list down to no more than five items.

Evaluate. Weigh each option. Is it likely to achieve your goals? What other results might it have? How might other people respond? Based on your goals, select the best option.

King decided to organize a march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. As marchers crossed the Edmund Pettis Bridge out of Selma, state police attacked. A national television audience watched police beat men, women, and children mercilessly. This brutal attack shocked the nation and galvanized support for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which would put elections in Southern states under federal control.

Two weeks later, the march resumed under federal protection. More than 20,000 people celebrated when the marchers reached Montgomery, the site of the bus boycott 10 years earlier.

THE NORTH

Civil rights demonstrations also took place in the North. Although legal segregation existed primarily in the South, Northern blacks endured discrimination in employment and housing. Most lived in poverty in urban ghettos. King led demonstrations in Chicago, which the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called the "most residentially segregated large city in the nation." Complaints of police brutality mobilized many African Americans and their supporters. They organized street rallies, picket lines, and other forms of non-violent protest that had dominated the civil rights movement in the South. Like their counterparts in the South, many of these protesters encountered hostility among the white population.

Until the 1960s, the civil rights movement had been integrated and non-violent. As the decade continued, however, the mood of confrontation intensified, reflecting the growing frustration of millions of African Americans. Major riots broke out in American cities, including Newark, Detroit, and Los Angeles. Thousands of injuries and arrests intensified the social conflicts. The 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King sparked more violence, forcing the United States to confront its most troubling domestic crisis since the Civil War.

A "black power" movement emerged, challenging the philosophies of non-violence and integration. Like the non-violent movement, this development had powerful historical roots. It originated in the violent resistance against slavery and continued in the outlook of major black spokespersons throughout the 20th century. In the late 1960s, SNCC and CORE adopted "black power." Activists argued that legal gains alone without corresponding economic and political power would deny millions of African Americans equal opportunity.

By the end of the decade with the Vietnam War escalating, the entire nation was in turmoil. Anti-war protests crossed paths with unrest in the cities. Black power took many forms. The Nation of Islam preached black separatism. Members of the Black Panther Party set up breakfast programs for children and published a daily newspaper while they armed themselves for a revolution. The media shifted focus from non-violent black leaders to the most radical black spokespersons. These new, more militant philosophies created considerable anxiety in mainstream America. By the mid-1970s, however, the Vietnam War had ended and the protests had subsided.

But the civil rights movement left a lasting legacy, forever changing the face of America. It pushed America toward its stated ideal of equality under the law. Blacks now vote freely throughout the South. The injustices and indignities of racially segregated restaurants, bathrooms, and theaters have become a regrettable relic of the past. The civil rights movement did not end America's racial problems, but it showed that great changes are possible.

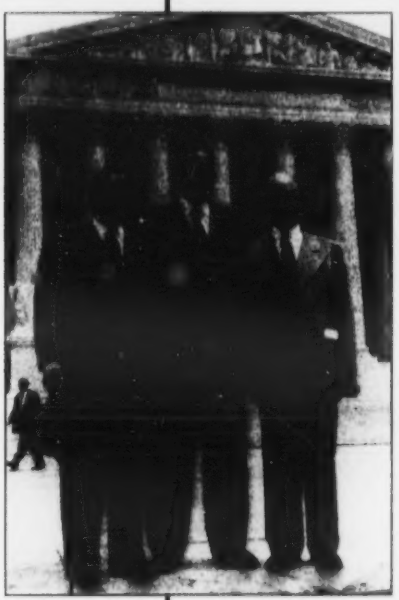
POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What do you think were the most effective protest strategies used during the civil rights movement? Why?
2. During the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King stressed the involvement of many groups and reached out to people of all colors in the struggle for equality. In contrast, the black power movement focused on organizing blacks, sometimes to the exclusion of other groups. What are the strengths and weaknesses of each approach? Which do you think is more effective? Why?

In the Courts

Courtroom battles played a significant role in the civil rights movement. For many years, civil rights leaders waged hard-fought and carefully planned legal battles to overturn legal segregation and achieve equality under the law.

As originally written, the U.S. Constitution did little to protect the rights of African Americans. It did not abolish slavery. It offered little protection from racial discrimination. Following the Civil War, however, three amendments were added to the Constitution. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment granted citizenship to everyone born in the United States. It also banned states from limiting citizens' rights, depriving them of due process of law, or denying "any person . . . the equal protection of the laws." The 15th Amendment prohibited racial discrimination in voting. These amendments offered promises that African Americans would finally achieve equal treatment under the law.



Future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (center) led the legal team that presented *Brown v. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. This 1954 ruling declared school segregation unconstitutional.

The slaves were freed, and for a few years blacks exercised previously unknown freedoms during Reconstruction when federal troops occupied the defeated South. But the rights of African Americans declined dramatically after federal troops withdrew in 1877. With local white rule restored, Southern blacks lived under a constant threat of violence. Those seeking to vote were frequently intimidated. In the latter 19th century, Southern states started adopting Jim Crow laws, which established different rules for black and white people. These laws ordered strict racial segregation in all public areas, including hospitals, restaurants, hotels, trains and buses, playgrounds, and even cemeteries. Signs marked "white"and "colored" dominated the South, ensuring that African Americans would be treated as second-class citizens.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON

In 1892, some Republicans in New Orleans decided to challenge Jim Crow laws with a test case. They enlisted Homer Plessy, a light-skinned African American, to board a railroad train bound for Covington, Louisiana. Refusing to sit in the "colored only" section, Plessy instead sat in the section reserved for whites. Arrested and convicted for this act of defiance, he appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. By an 8–1 vote in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the court rejected Plessy's arguments that the Louisiana Jim Crow law violated his constitutional rights under the 13th and 14th Amendments.

Writing for the majority, Justice Henry Brown held that this law had nothing to do with slavery and therefore it did not violate the 13th Amendment. He also ruled that the 14th Amendment was not intended to enforce the *social* equality of the races in America. He maintained that laws requiring the separation of the races implied no inferiority of either race. They were, he argued, merely passed to protect the common good, not to annoy or oppress anyone. Brown stated that if black people regarded such laws as a badge of inferiority, that was merely their interpretation. He ruled that segregated facilities in public transportation and other areas of life, including education, were constitutionally permissible, as long such facilities were equal. This case created the "separate but equal" doctrine, which lasted until 1954.

The sole dissenter, Justice John Harlan, blasted the decision. He predicted that it would "prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the Dred Scott Case," an infamous pro-slavery decision made before the Civil War. He explained:

> The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be

allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens.

Harlan stated that Jim Crow laws violated both the 13th and 14th amendments. The 13th Amendment, he argued, barred any "badge of servitude." The 14th Amendment, he said, made it clear that the "Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

Most 20th century historians and legal experts have sided with Harlan. They rejected the "separate but equal" doctrine as deceptive and fraudulent. Public schools and other facilities for African Americans were never equal and were usually extremely inferior.

The decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, however, gave segregation a solid legal foundation. No major challenge was mounted against it for many years. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the leading civil rights organization, concentrated on other battles, such as campaigning against lynching and trying to ensure fair trials for criminal defendants.

In the 1930s, however, the NAACP began challenging legal segregation. Led initially by Charles Houston and later by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP attorneys started the legal battle by focusing on graduate and professional school education. They believed that winning legal battles for integration at this level would be easiest and would create the legal basis for a broader attack on racial segregation at all levels. The efforts of the NAACP represent one of the greatest legal strategies in American history. Many of these courageous lawyers risked their personal safety when they traveled through the South, often meeting hostility from police and other whites.

GRADUATE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CASES

Their initial efforts brought significant legal success. Known generally as the "graduate school desegregation cases," these early victories broke down the myth of "separate but equal" facilities for advanced African-American students. In 1936, a federal appeals court ordered the University of Maryland to admit to its law school a black student it had rejected due to his race. The state had no separate facility for blacks. Two years later, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the University of Missouri Law School to admit a black student it had excluded. The state had no separate law school for blacks, but had offered to send the student to an out-of-state school for blacks. The court ruled that this offer did not "remove the discrimination," which violated the 14th Amendment.

The Second World War put a momentary stop on the graduate school cases. But following the war came its two most significant victories. The first involved a black law student, Herman Sweatt, who was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School because of his race. Responding to Sweatt's lawsuit, the state of Texas built a separate law school in Austin for black students. It consisted of three small basement rooms in an office building not far from both the state capitol and the whites-only law school of the University of Texas.

After five years of litigation, Sweatt attained his legal victory. In 1950 in *Sweatt v. Painter*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ordered his admission to the University of Texas. It rejected the state's argument that the newly established law school for blacks was even remotely equal to the facilities for white law students.

In the second case, a federal court had ordered the University of Oklahoma to admit a black graduate student. The university had

PROFILE

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) and W.E.B. DU BOIS (1868–1963)

Influential black American intellectuals

Booker T. Washington, black educator, was born a slave. Largely self-educated, Washington turned to teaching and founded Tuskegee Institute. He became the most powerful black thinker in America, advising Presidents Roosevelt and Taft on racial problems.

Washington urged patience and political passivity for blacks. He believed that if blacks temporarily accepted discrimination and worked hard they would eventually earn equality. He also urged white employers to hire blacks. Washington's views won approval from whites but conflicted with those of another black leader.

W.E.B. Du Bois, black American sociologist, was educated at Harvard and later helped found the NAACP. In 1900, Du Bois predicted that racism would become "the problem of the twentieth century." He argued that Washington's passive strategy would perpetuate segregation and racial discrimination. Du Bois advocated a separate, self-sufficient black culture and economy and believed that in a racist society, equality could only be achieved through agitation and protest.

admitted the student, but roped him off from other students, reserving a special section for him in classes, at the library, and in the cafeteria. In 1950 in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*, a unanimous Supreme Court ordered the school to end this segregation. The court stated that under the 14th Amendment the student "must receive the same treatment . . . as students of other races."

During the 1940s, NAACP lawyers had achieved other significant victories. In *Morgan v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court struck down segregation on interstate transportation because it impeded interstate commerce. In *Smith v. Allwright* the court ruled that the Southern practice of holding whites-only primary elections violated the 15th Amendment.

Jim Crow laws enforced Southern segregation. These laws separated blacks from whites in public facilities like restaurants, bus stations, and restrooms.

In 1948 in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the court struck down racial restrictive covenants. Common in many parts of the country, these were agreements, often recorded in deeds, that an owner would not sell the land to specified minorities. In this case, despite a covenant against selling to blacks or Asians, the owner sold the property to a black couple. The other property owners sued in state court to prevent the sale. When the case reached the Supreme Court, NAACP attorneys argued that enforcing these covenants violated the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law. The property owners argued that the 14th Amendment only protected against state action and since these private agreements did not involve the state, the 14th Amendment did not apply. The Supreme Court agreed that the agreements by themselves did not involve state action. But the unanimous court pointed out that enforcing them required state action and thus violated the 14th Amendment.

BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION

By the 1950s, the rigid legal doctrine supporting segregation had finally been weakened. Thurgood Marshall was preparing for the final legal assault on school segregation, but he faced major opposition even from many committed to full racial equality. They thought that the time was not ripe for such drastic social and legal change. They feared that the Supreme Court would reject a case seeking total racial integration throughout American public education. Such a defeat, they argued, would result in further frustration and continued racial inequality and lack of opportunity.

Determined to succeed, Marshall pushed ahead. NAACP lawyers worked furiously to present the best possible case. In 1952, Marshall presented the legal argument that resulted in the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court announced its dramatic unanimous decision: Segregation of children in America's public schools, when authorized or required by state law, violated the U.S. Constitution, specifically the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the law. Chief Justice Earl Warren relied on scientific evidence in concluding that segregated schools promoted feelings of inferiority in black children. Because this reduced their motivation to learn, Warren and his fellow justices determined that segregated educational facilities were inherently unequal.

The *Brown* decision was one of the most important in the 20th century. More than any other case, it expanded the legal rights of African Americans. For the first time, many blacks saw that American justice system might actually help them achieve full justice and equality. Robert Williams, a Marine Corps veteran and a civil rights leader, spoke for many: "On this momentous night of May 17, 1954, I felt that at last the government was willing to assert itself on behalf of first-class citizenship, even for Negroes. I experienced a sense of loyalty that I had never felt before."

Following the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision, the court continued to strike down legal segregation throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In a series of short opinions, the court outlawed segregation in buses, parks, public golf courses, and other places. In each case, the court cited the *Brown* opinion. It upheld the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1967 in *Loving v. Virginia*, the court ruled that states could no longer outlaw people of different races from marrying each

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Diversity Checklist: Equal Protection Analysis
S C O P E

"No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

—Equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment

The equal protection clause has played a prominent role in civil rights cases. It requires that a state treat all individuals the same when they are in similar conditions or circumstances. The following SCOPE checklist shows elements the Supreme Court typically considers in equal protection cases:

State action. The equal protection clause applies only to action by a state or local government. (The action can be a law, law enforcement, or other action.) The clause does not apply to private individuals, businesses, or organizations unless the state is somehow involved. Is it involved? If not, there cannot be a claim under the equal protection clause.

Classification. Does the law or action confer or deny benefits to specific groups of people? Equal protection only applies to cases where people are classified into groups. What groups are involved?

Options. There are three levels of scrutiny that the court can apply. The type of group determines the level of scrutiny. Find the level that applies in this case.

For strict scrutiny: racial and ethnic groups (known as "suspect classifications").

For intermediate scrutiny: gender and illegitimacy ("quasi-suspect classifications").

For rational basis: all other groups.

Purpose. What is the state's purpose for the law or action? After determining the purpose, decide how strong the state's purpose is. Is it . . .

A legitimate purpose for the state? (Required for rational basis)

An important state interest? (Required for intermediate scrutiny)

A compelling state interest? (Required for strict scrutiny)

Evaluate. As shown above, there are minimum requirements for each level of scrutiny. Does the law in question meet the requirement?

other. In that ruling, Chief Justice Warren noted that the Virginia statute, which the court declared invalid, did nothing more than endorse the doctrine of white supremacy. By the end of the 1960s, the court had ruled against all aspects of legal segregation.

The Supreme Court has continued to deal with issues related to race, such as affirmative action and discrimination in the criminal justice system. The court has developed a three-tiered system to deal with equal protection cases under the 14th Amendment.

In most circumstances, when a legislature passes a law that classifies people into groups, the law must only pass a simple test: Is the law reasonably related to a legitimate state purpose? (This is the "rational basis" test—the lowest level of scrutiny.) If the law is, then it

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is valid under the 14th Amendment. For example, a law that bans the sale of alcohol to minors serves a legitimate state interest of protecting the welfare of young people.

But if a law classifies people by gender, the court will examine it more closely. This is the second tier–sometimes known as "intermediate scrutiny." The test for intermediate scrutiny is more demanding: Is the law substantially related to the achievement of an important government purpose?

If, however, the law classifies people by race or ethnicity, it is highly suspect and must be examined extremely closely. In the court's terms, such a law merits "strict scrutiny," the highest level of scrutiny. To survive strict scrutiny, a law must pass this test: Is the law necessary to achieve a "compelling state interest"? A compelling state interest is one that is most important and vital to society. Few laws can pass this test.

Although today's court is more conservative than the Warren Court of the 1950s and '60s, there is no possibility of a return to legal segregation. The major expansion of legal rights that Charles Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and many other civil rights lawyers successfully fought for during the 1940s and 1950s will remain intact. The United States will never return to the racist practices and legal standards of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which dominated national life for decades, causing untold suffering and personal humiliation to millions of American citizens.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What was the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*? Why was it important?
2. Why do you think NAACP attorneys chose graduate schools as their first line of attack on the doctrine of separate but equal?
3. Why do you think the court scrutinizes most closely classifications based on race and ethnicity? Do you think these classifications deserve more attention than others? Explain.

Congress Acts

The civil rights movement deeply affected American society. Among its most important achievements were two major civil rights laws passed by Congress. These laws ensured constitutional rights for African Americans and other minorities. Although these rights were first guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution immediately after the Civil War, they had never been fully enforced. It was only after years of highly publicized civil rights demonstrations, marches, and violence that American political leaders acted to enforce these rights.

President John F. Kennedy proposed the initial civil rights act. Kennedy faced great personal and political conflicts over this legislation. On the one hand, he was sympathetic to African-American citizens whose dramatic protests highlighted the glaring gap between American ideals and American realities. Kennedy understood that black people deserved the full equality they were demanding. He also knew that racial discrimination in the United States, particularly highly public displays of violence and terror against racial minorities, embarrassed America internationally. Moreover, his civil rights legislation generated considerable support among Northern liberals and moderates as well as millions of African-American voters in states where they could vote without difficulty or intimidation.

On the other hand, Kennedy worried about losing the support of white Southern Democrats, still the main political force in that region. He was especially concerned about his re-election prospects in 1964. Facing strong Southern opposition, a reluctant president finally proposed strong civil rights legislation to Congress, admitting privately to civil rights leaders that street protests had forced his hand.

JOHNSON AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963, changed the political dynamics of the impending civil rights legislation. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded Kennedy and almost immediately intensified the cam-

paign for a major civil rights bill. Although a Southern politician, he had developed compassion for the courageous struggles of African Americans during the civil rights movement. His personal commitment to ensuring full equality for minority citizens, in fact, surpassed Kennedy's.

Johnson stood in a better position than his predecessor to push the civil rights legislation through Congress. An extremely accomplished politician, Johnson thoroughly understood Congress and its complex operations. For many years, he had served as the Senate majority leader. With the responsibility to guide legislation through Congress, he had worked with colleagues of both parties and different outlooks. During his service, he mastered the art of compromise, gaining many victories for his party's legislative agenda. He also developed close relationships with senators and representatives of both political parties. He regularly used that personal knowledge, combined with charm, flattery, and threats, to achieve his legislative goals. This skill proved especially useful in getting Congress to pass a major civil rights bill.

President Johnson used another key strategy to pass the civil rights bill. He took advantage of the national sympathy and mourning surrounding Kennedy's tragic death. In public speeches and private talks, he urged passage of the civil rights act as a lasting legacy to the martyred president. Building widespread public support, he called on religious leaders throughout the nation (especially in the South) to use their influence on behalf of the civil rights act.

The actual battle in Congress took all of Johnson's political skills. Faced with strong opposition from many Republicans and most Southern Democrats, he resorted to his forceful personal powers. He told Georgia Senator Richard Russell, a major opponent of civil rights legislation, that "if you get in the way, I'm going to run you down." In the Senate, the president faced a filibuster, a delaying debate that could have killed the entire bill. The filibuster lasted 83 days, the longest in Senate history. But Johnson managed to get the votes to end it. He worked the telephones himself and lobbied personally, "twisting arms" of legislators still unsure of how to vote. Enlisting White House aides, civil rights and labor leaders, and key congressional civil rights advocates, he pulled out all the stops to gain a legislative victory.

President Johnson shakes the hand of Martin Luther King Jr. after signing the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Johnson's persistence and political talents succeeded. On July 2, 1964, he formally signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law, using 72 ceremonial pens. Many dignitaries, including Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, and several other national civil rights figures, attended the ceremony. This law banned racial discrimination in several areas, including hotels, restaurants, education, and other public accommodations. This landmark act also guaranteed equal job opportunities, fulfilling one major objective of the historic 1963 March on Washington. Many larger Southern businesses had already desegregated in response to sit-ins and other civil rights protests. But the Civil Rights Act of 1964 added important legal protections to these political and social developments.

Almost immediately, the new civil rights law came under legal challenge. The owner of an Atlanta motel argued that Congress did not have the authority under the U.S. Constitution to ban segregation in public accommodations. This 216-room establishment, which served an interstate clientele, had long refused to rent rooms to African Americans. When *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States* reached the Supreme Court, the court rejected the owner's argument. It ruled that the commerce clause of the Constitution authorized Congress to enact this type of legislation. Civil rights advocates had achieved their most significant legal victory since the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision banning school segregation.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Following his landslide victory in the 1964 presidential election, Johnson moved to do something about voting rights. Southern states had historically deprived the vote from millions of African-American citizens.

PROFILE

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

(1933–)
Judo expert, rancher, jewelry designer, and U.S. senator

Campbell's varied career has taken him many places. He was stationed in Korea in the Air Force during the Korean War. Following the war, he attended college in California and grew interested in judo. He moved to Japan to perfect his judo, winning the U.S. judo championship three times and serving as captain of the U.S. Olympic judo team. In Colorado, he trains horses on his ranch, designs jewelry, and serves as the senior U.S. senator. As the only American Indian serving in Congress, Campbell has championed Indian rights, environmental protection, and veterans' issues.

Although guaranteed by the 15th Amendment, the right to vote had been denied blacks through discriminatory legal strategies, economic intimidation, and physical threats. The civil rights movement had focused on voting rights, particularly during Freedom Summer in Mississippi in 1964.

President Johnson delivered an impassioned speech to the nation on March 15, 1965, recognizing the problem and urging a national legislative solution. He specifically called attention to the widespread efforts of whites to keep black people from the most important function of democracy—choosing their own representatives in government. Pointedly, Johnson ended his speech with the historic words of the national civil rights anthem, "We shall overcome."

The president and other supporters of a voting-rights act knew that only strong federal legislation could address the problem of voting discrimination. From 1961 to 1965, the U.S. Justice Department had filed many lawsuits against state and local officials in the South, mostly in Mississippi. Even when successful, these lawsuits rarely had much impact because white officials kept finding new ways to avoid their legal duties.

President Johnson's support of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 reflected the pressures from the massive civil rights protests of the early and middle 1960s. Again, Johnson's political skills worked wonders. He was aided by highly publicized voting-rights demonstrations throughout the South. On March 7, 1965, police officials savagely attacked non-violent civil rights marchers at the Edmund Pettis Bridge in Selma, Alabama. Widely repeated on television news programs, this horrific incident aroused public opinion in favor of the pending voting-rights legislation.

Signed in August 1965, the act struck down two methods Southern whites had long employed to keep blacks from voting—literacy tests and poll taxes. The act also authorized the Justice Department to send federal registrars and observers to the South to register black voters and to guarantee the fairness of local and state elections. Finally, the Voting Rights Act required states to submit any changes in their voting laws and procedures to the Justice Department or to the federal district court in Washington, D.C., for approval.

Like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, this legislation came under swift legal attack. But the Supreme Court in 1966 in *South Carolina v. Katzenbach* rejected this challenge. It ruled that the act fell under Congress's power to enforce the requirements of the 15th Amendment, which had been ratified in 1870.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 had immediate and dramatic results. Within two years with the help of many volunteers, African-American voter registration throughout the South increased to more than 50 percent of the voting-age population. Mississippi's black voters in particular benefited from this legislation, moving from the lowest percentage of eligible voters to the highest. Again, the civil rights movement had garnered a major legal victory, further moving the nation to a fuller recognition of its ideals of democracy and racial equality

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. **What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 do? Why do you think they were effective?**
2. **What problems of discrimination exist in America today? Do you think laws can remedy these problems? Explain.**

The Chicano Movement

The civil rights movement is frequently associated with the African-American struggle for equality and social justice. But another minority has played a significant role in advancing the cause of civil rights in the United States. Like African Americans, the Mexican-American, or Chicano, community has fought long and hard against racial discrimination and for civil rights.

Chicano activist Cesar Chavez is one of America's best known labor leaders. His commitment to the struggle for equality and his legacy of non-violent action is comparable to that of Martin Luther King. Like King, Chavez would be the first to explain that he was one of many civil rights activists.

One of Chavez's immediate forerunners was Ernesto Galarza. Shortly after World War II, Galarza began a campaign to organize Mexican-American farm workers. A dynamic civil rights leader, Galarza rose from humble origins as a field worker to become a widely recognized teacher, labor organizer, and historian. Despite vigorous efforts to help agricultural workers demand better wages and working conditions, Galarza achieved only limited success.

Galarza faced a difficult challenge: Federal labor laws did not protect farm workers. In addition, most Mexican migrant laborers worked on a temporary basis. They traveled from farm to farm throughout the Southwest and northward, cultivating and harvesting crops. Because of poor economic conditions in Mexico, migrant workers were willing to work for extremely low wages. Their mobility, their temporary employment, and their desperate economic circumstances made migrant workers difficult to organize. Still, Galarza's work in the 1940s and '50s set the stage for more successful efforts a few years later.

THE FARM WORKERS' UNION

Into the 1960s, low wages and difficult working conditions continued to make life miserable for thousands of Chicano farm workers and their families. In 1965, grape pickers earned an average of 90 cents an hour. Many workers, including children, labored long hours, risked injury from unsafe machinery, and suffered abusive treatment from supervisors and employers. They also endured substandard housing that lacked indoor plumbing, cooking facilities, or personal privacy.

One organization responding to farm workers' problems was the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). Founded by Dolores Huerta, it included Chicanos, Filipinos, African Americans, and whites. Huerta had a long record of labor activism and commitment to human rights.

Cesar Chavez, shown here marching on a picket line, used his own experience as a migrant laborer to help organize farm workers in the 1960s and '70s.

In 1962, Chavez invited Huerta to work with him in creating a new farm workers' union. Chavez had been a migrant farm worker as a young man and had already built up a long record of social protest and labor organizing. According to Huerta, "Cesar . . . knew that it wasn't going to work unless people owned the union . . . [and] that the only way . . . [was] to organize the union ourselves." Traveling throughout California, Chavez tirelessly met with farm workers any place he could find them—in the fields, at their homes, and in the migrant camps. His mission was to persuade them that forming a union would improve their lives.

In 1965, strikes by Filipino workers against major grape growers broke out in California's Central Valley. "All I knew was, they [the Filipinos] wanted to strike . . . ." Chavez explained. "We couldn't work while others were striking." Chavez's union, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), joined the strike in solidarity with the Filipino workers.

The farm workers maintained that they—like any other workers—had the right to join a union that could represent them in labor negotiations. This right, called collective bargaining, gave the workers a better chance of negotiating fair working agreements with their employers, the growers. For farm workers, however, neither state nor federal law protected this right.

Six months later, the grape strike had grown, generating national press coverage. Thousands of striking farm workers formed picket lines around the vast vineyards near Delano, Cali-

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PROFILE

LUIS VALDEZ
(1940–)

Playwright and director of theater, television, and film

Born into a farm-working family, Valdez formed *El Teatro Campesino* (the Farm Workers Theater) during the California grape strike of 1965. The theater troupe, which highlights Chicano issues, has toured throughout the United States, Europe, and Mexico. Valdez's first successful full-length play was *Zoot Suit*, which told the story of a highly charged criminal case in Los Angeles during World War II. Valdez has continued in television, theater, and film portraying Chicano culture as an essential part of the American experience.

fornia. Many growers responded fiercely, employing strikebreakers and occasionally using violence against the picketers. Despite Chavez's call for non-violence, some strikers resorted to violence as well. Local police often harassed the union, arresting strikers on questionable charges usually dismissed in court.

THE GRAPE BOYCOTT

Inspired by the tactics and outcome of the Montgomery bus boycott, Chavez announced a consumers' boycott of non-union grapes. The grape boycott became the core of the farm workers' non-violent strategy. The grape strikers sustained their boycott by linking it to the larger civil rights movement, which many Americans supported.

Chicano leaders organized marches and rallies in support of the farm workers' cause. The farm workers found allies among other unions, church groups, students, consumers, and civil rights organizations that publicized the grape boycott nationwide. Millions of consumers stopped buying grapes, creating substantial economic pressure on the large grape growers.

By 1966, some large growers conceded, recognizing the new farm workers' union. On August 22, 1966, the AWOC and the NWFA merged to form the United Farm Workers (UFW). The new union became the largest, most influential organization in the Chicano struggle for equality and social justice.

Many growers stubbornly refused to recognize the right of the UFW to unionize their farms. The boycott and strike continued for five years. Chavez, following the example of India's non-violent leader Mahatma Gandhi, added personal hunger strikes to the UFW's arsenal of protest strategies. Repeated fasts, often lasting for several weeks, damaged Chavez' health, contributing to his death in 1993. But Chavez' fasts also generated great respect for his commitment to non-violent social change. By 1970, two-thirds of all grapes grown in the Central Valley came from unionized workers. In 1975, Chavez's efforts helped pass the nation's first farm labor act in California. It legalized collective bargaining and banned owners from firing striking workers. With these successes, the Chicano civil rights movement became a powerful force.

Thousands of young people were attracted to social activism through participation in "la huelga" (Spanish for strike). They saw the UFW as a major vehicle for social change. The UFW's political and economic agenda drew broad support for Chavez and his activities.

MILITANCY

Other Chicano groups and leaders have played major roles in Chicano civil rights struggles. In 1967, a young leader named Reies Lopez Tijerina led a group of 350 protesters occupying federal land in a New Mexico forest. This group, called *alianzistas*, claimed the land under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which honored 18th- and 19th-century Spanish land grants.

Tijerina's dramatic actions took their cue from Mexican history, particularly the protests of Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata, who sought to gain land for his people. Later that year, Tijerina led a raid on a New Mexico courthouse. Again, he sought to recover land that had been redistributed after New Mexico's annexation by the United States. Tijerina and some of his supporters were apprehended, charged with crimes, convicted, and jailed.

In spring 1968, Martin Luther King invited Tijerina and a contingent of his *alianzistas* to march with him on the Poor People's March across the United States. King was assassinated before the march could be completed, but his intention to make connections with other civil rights efforts brought results. Tijerina and other members of the Chicano movement remained in Washington, D.C., for months after the march, forming alliances with Native-American and African-American civil rights organizations. Today, Tijerina is

still regarded as a major symbol of militant Chicano activism.

In Denver, Colorado, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales organized the Crusade for Justice, a key Chicano civil rights organization. This group provided social and legal services to Mexican-American residents in the Denver area. It also agitated strongly for improved housing, better jobs, and cultural pride among Chicanos.

Throughout the Southwest, chapters of La Raza Unida (the People United) organized to advance Chicano political causes. In San Francisco, where it began, La Raza Unida stressed working-class issues. In Colorado, it grew out of the work of Corky Gonzales. In Texas, La Raza Unida attempted to elect Chicanos to local government. In 1972, it held its first national convention, but divisions in its ranks limited its growth.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles has long been a center for Chicano activism. In 1968, at the height of American civil rights ferment, 10,000 Chicano students and several teachers in Los Angeles high schools organized a walkout. They protested the quality of public education and sought recognition for their cultural heritage and the contributions they have made to society. Chicano activists picketed the Los Angeles Board of Education, held sit-ins and teach-ins, and staged rallies to mobilize Los Angeles' large Mexican-American population in support of the students' demands. One of the most active groups supporting the school walkout was a young organization called the Brown Berets.

First established in East Los Angeles as a community-service organization, the Brown Berets modeled themselves loosely on the militant African-American Black Panther Party. Their primary goal was to defend Mexican-Americans from police brutality. Many Brown Berets were teenagers. Of the 13 figures arrested during the Los Angeles high-school walkout, seven belonged to the Brown Berets.

On August 29, 1970, hundreds of thousands of Los Angeles citizens marched in the Chicano Moratorium. The Chicano Moratorium had been organized as a peaceful demonstration against the Vietnam War. Demonstrators protested that Mexican Americans were suffering many military casualties in Vietnam. Police used tear gas and clubs in attempts to disperse the demonstration. They arrested several prominent Chicano leaders, who were later found not guilty at their trials. During the chaos surrounding the Chicano Moratorium, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Ruben Salazar, a Mexican American, was killed by a tear gas projectile. He became a powerful symbol of the Chicano movement.

The energy of the Chicano movement has continued to this day. In the early 1990s, Chicano students and other activists protested Proposition 187. This ballot measure proposed to make illegal immigrants ineligible for tax-funded social services, health care services, and public school education. Many Latinos saw the proposal as immigrant bashing. Although the measure passed (and has since been struck down by the courts), it rallied the Chicano community to take a more active role in public affairs. More Latinos vote today and hold public office than ever before.

Chicano activists have also defended affirmative action programs in schools and at work. They have responded vigorously to a broad range of community problems—pesticide dangers in agricultural fields, complaints of police harassment, racial stereotyping, lack of recognition of Latinos in education and the media, and discrimination in the workplace. Like the African-American civil rights movement, the Chicano movement will struggle until justice, dignity, and equal protection of the law become an enduring national reality.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What non-violent strategies did Cesar Chavez employ in his work with the United Farm Workers?
2. How did Reies Lopez Tijerina justify his takeover of government land in New Mexico in 1967? Do you agree? Explain.
3. What reasons did Los Angeles high school students give for walking out of their classrooms in 1968? Do you think such walkouts are ever justified? Explain.

CHAPTER 4

ISSUES AND POLICIES

How Much Progress Have We Made in Race Relations?

Race riots erupted in many American cities in the 1960s. Seeking to understand their causes and prevent future riots, President Lyndon Johnson appointed a commission. It was headed by Otto Kerner, the governor of Illinois. In March 1968, civil rights leader Martin Luther King was assassinated and more cities exploded in violence. That same month, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, better known as the Kerner Commission, issued its troubling report. It concluded that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

By 1968, disappointment in civil rights progress and anger at the assassination of Martin Luther King contributed to racial unrest in many American cities.

Coming in 1968, this warning seems ironic. America had always been "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." In the 1850s, William Chambers, a Scotsman, traveled extensively throughout the North and South. He wrote that "we see, in effect, two nations—one white and another black—growing up together within the same political circle, but never mingling on a principle of equality." Ninety years later, Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal wrote a classic study of racism, *An American Dilemma*. Myrdal highlighted the contradiction between America's unequal treatment of blacks and its ideals of equality.

It was only in the 1950s and '60s that America started moving toward an equal society. The civil rights movement pushed America toward this goal. Momentous court decisions, beginning with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, erased centuries of legalized racial discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination in employment, government-run facilities, and businesses serving the public. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 ensured that blacks would no longer be denied the vote. Businesses, colleges, and government agencies adopted affirmative action programs, which attempted to reach out to blacks and other minorities.

By 1968 when the Kerner Commission issued its report, America was at a crossroads. Would it improve on its promise of racial equality? Or, would it remain mired in racial division and discord? More than three decades have passed since the civil rights movement, the landmark court cases, and groundbreaking civil rights legislation. Many affirmative action programs have been in place for years. Where do we stand today? How much racial progress have we made?

This question provokes great controversy. Some experts believe we have made great progress. Others decry America's unrelenting racism and believe we have made few, if any, advances toward equality. Most experts fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Although the argument is fierce over how much progress we have made in the last few decades, almost everyone agrees on some matters. A large black middle class has developed. But many blacks and minorities remain in poverty. For the first time, many blacks and minorities hold elective offices—mayors, city council members, state and federal representatives. Most notably, the composition of America is changing dramatically. Many Asian and Latino immigrants have entered the United States. Latinos will soon overtake blacks as the largest minority group. Within the next century, according to projections, the proportion of whites in the American population will decrease to less than 50 percent. America is quickly becoming a multiracial society. Yet much of the debate is still framed in terms of black and white.

To explore the extent of racial progress, we will look at two books written by scholars. The two books express completely opposite points of view.

SEPARATE, HOSTILE, UNEQUAL

Andrew Hacker is a professor of political science at Queens College in New York City. He has written extensively on political philosophy, statistical research, and contemporary American problems. In 1992, he wrote a book titled *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal.* Hacker's outlook is truly bleak: "A huge racial chasm remains, and there are few signs that the coming century will see it closed." Hacker puts the blame on white racism, which even today "imposes a stigma on every black child at birth."

Racism, says Hacker, has wreaked havoc on African Americans. The poverty rate of black children approaches 50 percent, triple that of white children. The life expectancy of blacks is shorter than whites, caused "in considerable measure, from the anxieties that come with being black in America."

Hacker says that "after other factors have been accounted for, race still seems to play a role in how people fare financially." He cites statistics showing that the black unemployment rate is double the white rate. He contends that "black Americans get jobs only after white applicants have been accommodated. . . . In bleak times, the jobless rate among blacks can approach 20 percent . . . ."

Hacker cites the chart below. It shows how much blacks earned for every $1,000 that whites earned.

BLACK WORKERS' EARNINGS
(PER $1,000 FOR WHITES)

	Men	Women
1939	$450	$359
1949	$596	$434
1959	$612	$664
1969	$694	$819
1979	$715	$925
1989	$716	$919

These statistics show that black men in 1989 only earned $716 for every $1,000 that white workers earned. But most troubling to Hacker is that black men are not gaining on whites. Their earnings did grow between 1939 and 1979. But in the next 10 years, they rose only $1—to $716.

Even when black men attain the same level of education as white men, their income lags. Hacker shows that black men with four years of college earned $798 for every $1,000 that whites with the same amount of college earned. (Black women earned close to the same as white women. But Hacker explains that this "results largely from the fact few women of either race rise far in the earnings hierarchy.")

Hacker notes that of the 1,000 largest corporations in 1991, only one was headed by an African American (Erroll B. Davis, chairman of a utility holding company in Wisconsin). He also observes that although blacks make up about 10 percent of the workforce, they amount to less than 4 percent of the nation's lawyers, architects, and journalists. He points out that African-Americans are not underrepresented just in professions requiring higher education. Blacks make up less than 4 percent of the nation's waiters, bartenders, and realtors. Hacker thinks racism explains these figures.

Racism, says Hacker, also accounts for segregation in housing. He cites surveys showing that blacks prefer integrated neighborhoods—50 percent black and white. Yet, Hacker refers to studies showing that whites move from neighborhoods once they reach a "tipping point" of 8 percent black.

Segregation in housing results in segregated schools. According to him, about two-thirds of all black students still attend segregated schools. Even integrated schools, says Hacker, may segregate students by "tracking" them (providing separate programs for high-achieving and low-achieving students). Hacker quotes an Alabama legislator: "Before the 1960s, we had separate and segregated schools. Then came tracking, so while black and white students walk through the same school door, they get segregated once they are inside."

Once in college, four-fifths of all African-American students attend integrated schools. But Hacker says blacks often find themselves unwelcome. He cites a study that concluded "bigotry suffuses even sophisticated campuses." Hacker thinks this is because most white students "attended schools that were almost or wholly white, or where the races tended to go their own ways."

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Hacker wrote his pessimistic book in 1992. Since then, some things have happened that seem to support Hacker's viewpoint. For example:

- Shortly after his book was published in 1992, Los Angeles exploded with a race riot that left more than 50 dead and millions of dollars in property destroyed.
- For the better part of two years (beginning in 1994), the O.J. Simpson case exposed the nation's racial divide. Charged with murdering his white ex-wife and her friend, Simpson, a black former football great, was tried in a highly publicized criminal case and acquitted. Whites overwhelmingly believed Simpson guilty; blacks by similar margins thought him innocent.
- In 1998, the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation published *The Millennium Breach*, a 30-year update of the Kerner Commission report. The foundation reported two widening gaps in America, both disproportionately hurting blacks and other minorities. One gap is that the rich in America are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer. The other gap is between those inside and those outside the inner city. The foundation stated that "for the first time in the twentieth century most adults in many inner city neighborhoods are not working . . . ."

A 1997 Gallup poll showed that pessimism is growing among African Americans. Asked whether relations between blacks and whites will always be a problem or whether a solution will eventually be worked out, about 60 percent of blacks responded "always a problem." In 1963, only about 30 percent responded so pessimistically.

ONE NATION, INDIVISIBLE

In 1997, Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom wrote *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible*. Stephan Thernstrom is a history professor at Harvard University. Abigail Thernstrom is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute in New York City and a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. They have both written extensively on America's ethnic groups and public policy. Their book traces the awful history of blacks in the Jim Crow South, with its "pervasive threat of white violence," and in the North where discrimination in labor, housing, "and elsewhere was rampant." They argue that following World War II, America started to change dramatically and that we have made great progress in race relations. While we have not completely eliminated racism, they contend that "we are one nation, with blacks and whites much less unequal and, by many measures, much less hostile than in the past."

They point out that America was a far different nation in the 1940s. Then, nine out of 10 African Americans lived in poverty. In opinion polls, whites overwhelmingly expressed racist viewpoints. More than half of those polled thought blacks had less innate intelligence than whites. A similar proportion did not think blacks should "have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job." Two-thirds disapproved of black and white children attending the same school and didn't want as a neighbor a black person of the same education and economic level.

By 1972, much had changed. The poverty rate for blacks had fallen to 30 percent. White opinion had changed as well. More than 80 percent now believed that blacks and whites have the same innate intelligence and belong in the same schools. Only 15 percent objected to a black neighbor of the same social class. An overwhelming 97 percent thought blacks should have the same job opportunities. (This percentage was so high that the question was dropped in future polls.)

By 1995, all these numbers kept improving except one—the rate of black poverty. It was

still 26 percent, only 4 percent lower than in 1972. But the Thernstroms do not think racism accounts for the persistence of black poverty. They note that the white poverty rate, though lower than that of blacks, also has not dropped since 1970. (It was 8 percent in 1970 and 9 percent in 1995). They believe the dramatic increase in black unwed mothers (from 22 percent in 1960 to 70 percent in 1994) explains much of the poverty. Single-parent families are much more likely to be poor. They note that for "black children living with two parents the poverty rate continued to drop impressively. Since 1969 it has been cut in half, falling from 25 to 13 percent."

The Thernstroms agree that inner-city blacks face many problems. But they think that "too many journalists and scholars have let the underclass define black America; it is a very misleading picture." In the last 25 years, the percentage of blacks living in the suburbs has doubled. More than 40 percent of all blacks today consider themselves middle class. According to the Department of Labor, 93 percent of blacks aged 25 to 64 in the labor force had jobs in 1995.

The Thernstroms dispute Hacker's claim that "all residential areas" remain "entirely black or white." They say "it wasn't even true in 1964." According to a 1964 poll, "two-thirds of all blacks said some whites lived in their neighborhood; by 1994 the figure was five out of six." In addition, people overwhelmingly want integrated neighborhoods. They cite a 1997 poll showing that just 10 percent of each race favors "people of different races living apart in separate communities" instead of "full integration."

The Thernstroms quote many national polls showing that barriers between the races are crumbling. In 1975, one in five blacks and one in 10 whites reported having one or more good friend of the other race. By 1994, three out of four of both races reported they had good friends of the other race.

According to the Thernstroms, approval of interracial dating and marriage is increasing. In 1967, opinion polls showed that 62 percent of whites believed interracial marriages should be against the law. By 1994, this had dropped to 16 percent, "and the diehards on this issue are largely found in the South and among the elderly or those with the least education." In 1963, only 10 percent of white parents approved of their teen dating a black. By 1994, this had risen to 65 percent, and those objecting were mainly older whites. "Approval among young whites—the ones doing most of the dating—stood at a stunning 85 percent." The earliest poll on black opinion on this was in 1987, when 72 percent approved. By 1994, this had increased to 88 percent. Most people still marry someone of the same race, but this is changing. In 1963, less than 1 percent of all marriages with a black partner were racially mixed. By 1997, this percentage had increased 17 times.

The Thernstroms believe it's important to recognize "the remarkable degree to which citizens of every color have come to realize the American dream." They think pessimism

> encourages paralysis. If blacks, whites, Asians and Hispanics all think nothing has changed, then the hard work yet needed will be stymied. The American dream has not been for whites only. That should be a matter of deep national pride.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. With the same facts and statistics available to them, Hacker, the Thernstroms, and many others look at race relations in America and come to very different conclusions. What do you think accounts for these diffefent perspectives?
2. What are the strongest points Hacker makes?
3. What are the strongest points the Thernstroms make?
4. Do you believe our nation has made much progress in race relations since 1968? Explain.

PROFILE

AMY TAN (1952–)

Writer

The child of Chinese immigrants, Tan grew up in Northern California. Her mother wanted her to study the piano and pursue a career as a doctor, but Tan studied English and linguistics in college. She worked as a business writer, but began to experiment writing fiction. Her first novel, *The Joy Luck Club*, explored the relationships between several immigrant Chinese mothers and their daughters. Published in 1989, it drew immediate acclaim and has been translated into 17 languages.

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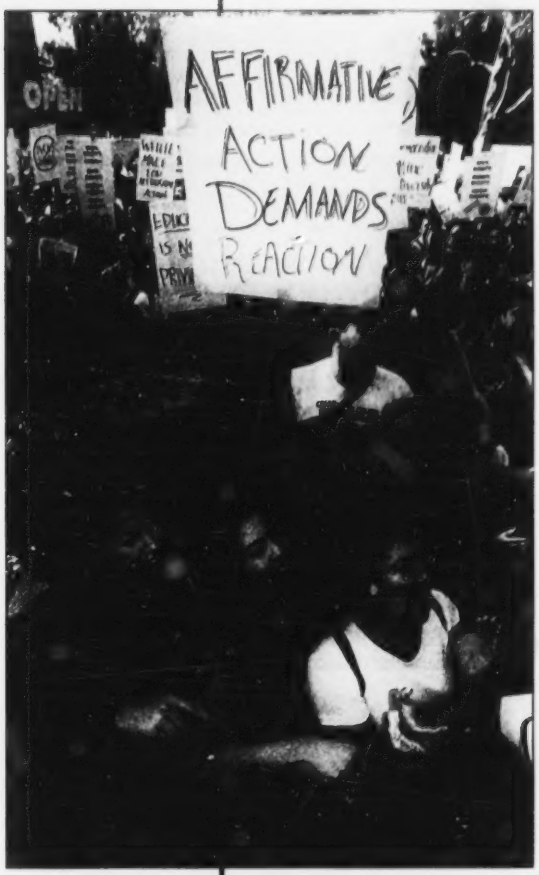
Affirmative Action: Should It Continue?

Affirmative action refers to a wide variety of programs designed to help minorities and women. These include efforts to eliminate discrimination as well as programs that recruit, tutor, and train minorities and women. Most of these programs don't generate much controversy. But one type of affirmative action provokes great debate: These programs use race or gender as a factor in deciding who gets into college, who gets a job, and who gets a government contract. When many people speak of affirmative action, they mean this type of preferential treatment. Opponents view preferences as reverse discrimination, doing much more harm than good. Supporters of preferences see them as necessary to end discrimination in our society. Until recently, opponents have mainly used the courts to attack preference programs. But lately a political movement against preferences has grown. State legislatures, state ballot initiatives, and Congress have joined the battle over affirmative action.



Students in Los Angeles protest a University of California decision to scrap affirmative action.

Most trace the origins of affirmative action to the 1960s. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination in employment, government-run facilities, and businesses serving the public. This was one of the civil rights movement's greatest victories, but many in the movement thought that banning discrimination would not be enough. The centuries of racial segregation had left blacks far behind whites. Their rates of poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy far exceeded those of whites. President Lyndon Johnson agreed that fairness required more than laws against discrimination. In a speech in 1965, he said:

> You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you're free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates . . . . We seek not . . . just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

That same year, Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, which set a policy of non-discrimination in certain government contracts and entrusted the Department of Labor (DOL) to enforce the order.

The DOL did not require government contractors to set aside a percentage of jobs for minorities. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically outlawed such quotas. Instead, the DOL asked government contractors to develop programs with "goals and timetables." Government contractors were to compare the percentage of minorities in their workforces with the percentage of minorities in the pool of qualified workers. If contractors underutilized minorities, they were to set a goal for achieving a representative workforce over time. If they fell short of their goal, the government would ask why. As long as they showed a good faith effort, the government would not penalize them. These were the first affirmative action programs.

The programs initially focused on non-discrimination in employment by federal contractors. Gradually at federal, state, and local levels, programs developed that used racial preferences. These programs typically involved employment and college admissions as well as government contracts.

Preference programs usually took two forms. Some programs reserved a certain number of contracts or college spaces for qualified minorities. Others simply used race as a plus factor (among many other factors) in the decision.

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CHALLENGES TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The first serious challenges to preference programs took place in the courts. Since the late 1970s, the Supreme Court has decided a series of affirmative action cases. The question in almost all these cases has been: Does this affirmative action program, which gives special treatment to minorities, violate the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law?

The court has been deeply divided on this issue and, at times, has reached seemingly contradictory results. In 1978 in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the court struck down an affirmative action program run by the U.C. Davis Medical School. The school set aside 16 of its 100 slots each year for minority applicants. The court said that race could be considered as a plus factor, but it ruled out fixed quotas.

In 1980 in *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, however, the court upheld a federal law that reserved 10 percent of federal construction funds for minority businesses. The court stressed that, unlike the university in the *Bakke* case, Congress has specific constitutional power to fight discrimination, and the court said it was deferring to Congress.

These were "plurality decisions." Five of the nine justices agreed on the result in each case, but no five justices agreed on the reasons for the decisions.

For many years, the court couldn't get five justices to agree on a formula for examining affirmative action cases. Some justices favored what is known as "strict scrutiny." This is the traditional standard for examining laws that discriminate by race. Under strict scrutiny, any law using racial classifications is highly suspect. It can be justified only if the government has a "compelling reason." Other justices favored a lesser standard, known as "intermediate scrutiny, " for affirmative action programs. They believed that a distinction should be made between racial discrimination that hurts minorities and preferences designed to help them.

In *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.* (1989), however, a majority of justices ruled that the strict scrutiny standard applied to all state

and local affirmative action programs. But it left the question open whether strict scrutiny applied to federal programs.

In *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC* (1990), the court seemed to settle the issue. The court upheld a Federal Communications Commission policy that Congress had approved. The policy counted minority ownership a plus factor on applications for broadcast licenses. The court majority ruled that the policy did not violate equal protection, because it was "substantially related to the achievement of the important government objective of broadcast diversity." This is the intermediate standard.

Five years later, however, the court decided *Adarand v. Peña*. In a 5-4 ruling, the Supreme Court decided that strict scrutiny applies to federal affirmative action programs. The court overruled the part of the *Metro Broadcasting* decision that set intermediate scrutiny as the standard. Although the court did not overrule *Fullilove*, *Adarand*'s reasoning arguably conflicts with the reasoning in that case as well.

The effect of *Adarand* is clear. If challenged in court, government affirmative action programs with racial preferences will have to pass the strict-scrutiny test. If the government cannot justify them with a compelling reason, they will fail.

The Supreme Court, however, has not yet defined what a "compelling reason" might be. Two justices, Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia, have indicated that government could never have a compelling reason for making race preferences. But other justices have not shut the door on affirmative action programs

with race preferences. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in *Adarand* stated that the government may have a compelling reason to use race preferences to overcome the "persistence of both the practice and lingering effects of racial discrimination against minority groups in this country." The justices also suggested that the legislative body most likely to have a compelling reason is Congress, because the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments expressly give Congress special power to enact anti-discrimination legislation.

Following *Adarand*, the Clinton administration examined all federal affirmative action programs to make sure they complied with strict scrutiny. The administration's policy on affirmative action was to "mend it, not end it."

Other groups have mounted campaigns to end it. In 1996, California voters overwhelming approved Proposition 209, which put an end to the state's preference programs. The measure banned the state from using preferences based on race, sex, or ethnicity in hiring, contracting, and college admissions. In 1998, a similar measure passed in Washington state. Leaders plan to take these campaigns to more states. At the federal level, several members of Congress have introduced legislation to end all federal programs that allow race preferences.

PROFILE

CHARLES RICHARD DREW

(1904–1950) Physician, surgeon, and scientist

Dr. Charles Drew saved countless lives by developing a method to store plasma in blood banks. Previously, blood could only be stored a short time. As the leading expert on blood banks, he headed the U.S.'s blood supply at the beginning of World War II. He resigned in protest when the military refused to stop its practice of segregating donated blood by race. He returned to medical research, but unfortunately died a few years later in an automobile accident.

PROS AND CONS

Opponents usually advance five arguments against racial preferences. First, preferences are unfair. A more qualified person doesn't get a job, contract, or place in college because of his or her race.

Second, preferences belittle all members of the group that receive them. They reinforce the stereotype that members of that group cannot compete. Since no one knows who enters college or gets a job because of preferential treatment, many people assume all members of the group have gotten preferential treatment.

Third, preferences hurt those who receive them, especially those entering elite universities. At many elite universities, minority students have entered under affirmative action with SAT scores averaging hundreds of points lower than white and Asian students. The dropout rate among these minorities at elite schools is sometimes 50 percent higher than other students. Opponents of preferences argue many of these students would not drop out if they entered less elite colleges where they could compete more readily.

Fourth, preferences harm institutions and society at large. They lower standards. The best person does not get hired or enter an elite college. In addition, treating people as members of groups creates rivalries between groups. Instead of achieving integration, preferences make racial divisions worse.

Fifth, preferences do nothing to help those trapped in poverty in the inner city. This is the worst race problem that America faces. Preference programs—in government contracts, employment, and college admissions—usually help the better-off working- and middle-class minorities.

For all these reasons, opponents of preferences want them ended. They argue that the best way to create a color-blind society is to eliminate all racial discrimination, including racial preferences. To be a color-blind society, they say, we must act color-blind. This means that we must root out all racial discrimination and otherwise ignore race completely.

Supporters of preferences think we cannot simply ignore race and hope an equal society appears. Our country has endured a long, ugly history of race discrimination and its effects linger. Although anti-discrimination laws have stopped overt discrimination, much subtle discrimination remains. This, they argue, cannot be gotten rid of easily.

Most advocates of preferences believe they are the best tool we have for achieving equality. Preferences allow members of historically excluded groups to be integrated into society. This, they argue, is fair. Preferences are not

Diversity Checklist: Policy Evaluation
G R A D E

Issues of diversity often raise policy questions. Should schools adopt bilingual education programs? Should colleges use affirmative action to recruit minority students? Should you vote for a particular ballot initiative? Government policies can profoundly affect our nation and your life. In a democracy, you have a say on government policies and proposed policies. It's important that you take a critical look at them. Use the following GRADE tests to evaluate a policy:

Goal. What is the goal of the policy? If you don't know what it's supposed to do, you can't measure its success or failure. Policies are designed to address problems. What problem or problems is this policy supposed to address?

Rivals. Who supports the policy? Who opposes it? Knowing the rivals can help you understand who the policy might affect and whether the policy favors special interests. Also, rivals are terrific sources for information. Be sure to check their facts, though.

Advantages. What are the policy's benefits? What is good about the policy? Will it achieve (or has it achieved) its goal? Will it achieve the goal efficiently? Is it inexpensive? Does it protect people from harm? Does it ensure people's liberties?

Disadvantages. What are the policy's costs? What is bad about the policy? Is it inefficient? Is it expensive? Does it cause harm? Does it intrude on people's liberties? Are there any potential consequences that may cause damage?

Evaluate the alternatives. One alternative is to do nothing. Most serious problems have various policy proposals. Evaluate them. Look at their goals, advantages, and disadvantages.

Once you GRADE the competing policies, weigh their advantages and disadvantages and decide which you favor.

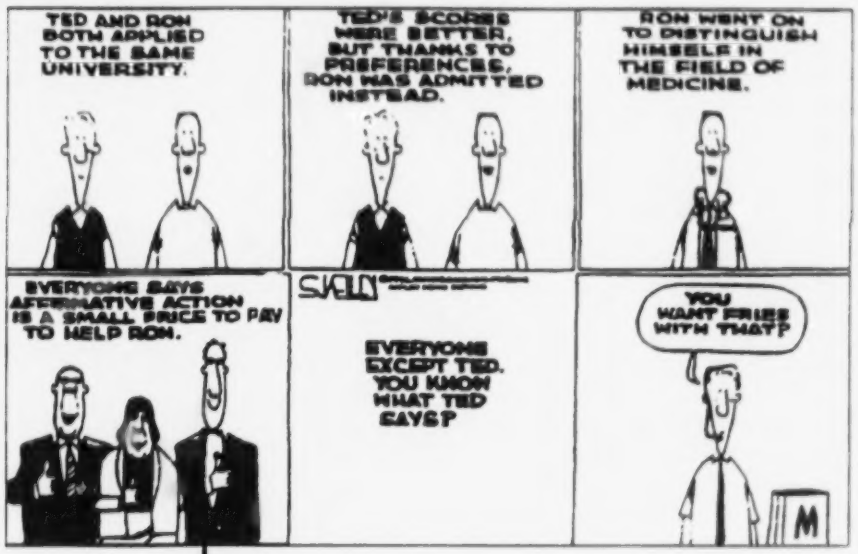
morally equivalent to racism. Their purpose is not to hurt whites, but to overcome the effects of centuries of racism.

They point out that preferences are quite common in our society. Many people get jobs based on who they know. Many elite colleges give preferences to children of alumni, athletes, and veterans. Most American schools have historically relied on more than test scores and grades to determine admissions. Preferences help minorities, many of whom lack a network of family, friends, and business associates that can help them enter schools or get jobs.

Supporters stress that preferences only help qualified people get in the door. Preferences do not guarantee them a college degree or a job for life. Those admitted still must do the work. It's "sink or swim." Some do sink, but most compete well.

Backers of affirmative action cite studies by economists on the productivity of workers admitted under preferences. They have found no evidence that these workers are less efficient than others.

Advocates also refer to an extensive study of preferential admissions at 28 elite universities done by two former presidents of Princeton and Harvard. This study found that minorities graduating from elite schools had highly successful careers in business, law, medicine, and other professions. They expressed great


TED AND RON BOTH APPLIED TO THE SAME UNIVERSITY.
TED'S SCORES WERE BETTER, BUT THANKS TO PREFERENCES, RON WAS ADMITTED INSTEAD.
RON WENT ON TO DISTINGUISH HIMSELF IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE.
EVERYONE SAYS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS A SMALL PRICE TO PAY TO HELP RON.
EVERYONE EXCEPT TED. YOU KNOW WHAT TED SAYS?
YOU WANT FRIES WITH THAT?

satisfaction with their careers and college experience. They also earned more and played a more active role in their communities than minority graduates from other schools.

Supporters of preferences think adopting a color-blind policy would have dire consequences. They point to the University of Texas Law School, which in 1996 abandoned its preference program in favor of a color-blind admissions policy. Minority admissions dropped more than 50 percent. Moreover, they say that a color-blind philosophy would not just eliminate preferences. They fear it would also do away with programs that target minorities for recruitment or training. Given our deep-seated racial problems, advocates argue, we cannot afford to do adopt color-blind policies at this time.

MENDING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Opponents think preferences should be ended. Some supporters of preferences, while not wanting them to end, believe they should be reformed. Here are some proposed changes:

Put a time limit on preference programs. Everyone agrees that preferences should not go on forever. Those opposed to preferences want them ended now. Some people say they should continue until race no longer matters in our society. Others want a specific time limit—10 years, 20 years (one more generation), 40 years (two generations), etc.

Make sure only qualified people benefit from preferences. Preferences are supposed to benefit only qualified individuals. But much criticism has focused on cases where purportedly this isn't true. This reform would require that all programs demonstrate that everyone is qualified.

Make preference programs class-based instead of race-based. Under this reform, race would no longer be a factor, but coming from a disadvantaged background would be. This would help poor people of all races. Critics of class-based programs say that they would benefit poor whites and Asians much more than under-represented minorities.

Limit the groups eligible for preferential treatment. Some programs allow preferences for many different groups: African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, other minorities, and women. Preference programs have been criticized for helping groups that don't need help. The problem with limiting affirmative action is deciding who to include and who to exclude.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What is affirmative action? What is its purpose?
2. Polls indicate that people's opinion on affirmative action is highly correlated to their opinion on how much discrimination still exists in America. Why do you think this might be?
3. What are the strongest arguments against preferences? What are the strongest arguments in favor of them?
4. Do you think preference programs should be continued? Explain.

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Reparations for Slavery?

Today, even after the success of the civil rights movement, the black American *population on average has higher infant-mortality* rates, lower life expectancy, higher rates of unemployment, lower income, and higher rates of imprisonment than the white population. Some argue that these problems are the "legacy of slavery" brought on by society's discrimination and racism.

Are the conditions really a "legacy of slavery"? If so, what should be done? Some African-Americans argue today for reparations—a sort of compensation for the free labor blacks were forced to render during 250 years of slavery.

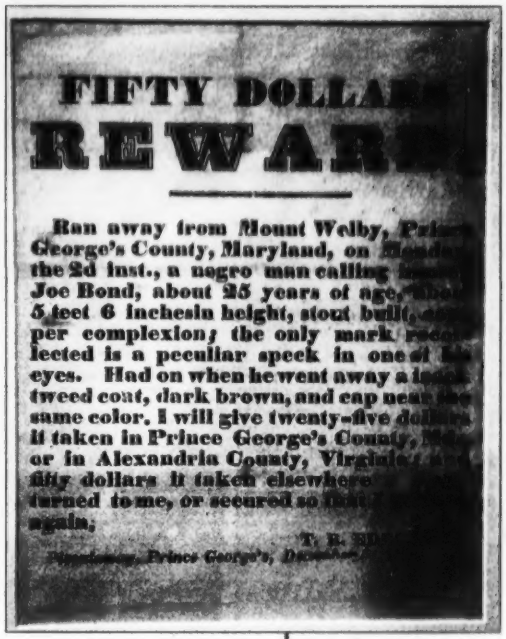
THE IDEA OF REPARATIONS

Reparations for the slavery is not a new idea. Before the Civil War ended, General William Tecumseh Sherman issued an order in South Carolina. He wanted 40 acres and the loan of an Army mule set aside for each former slave family. This order was never carried out. After the war, Radical Republicans in Congress passed laws requiring confiscation of former-Confederate property to provide the ex-slaves with "40 acres and a mule." In 1866, President Andrew Johnson vetoed the legislation.

The next push for reparations took place at the turn of the century. Several black organizations lobbied Congress to provide pensions for former slaves and their children. One bill introduced into the U.S. Senate in 1894 would have granted direct payments of up to $500 to all ex-slaves plus monthly pensions ranging from $4 to $15. This, and several similar bills, died in congressional committees. The pension movement itself faded away with the onset of World War I.

During the 1960s, some black leaders revived the idea of reparations. In 1969, James Forman (then head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) proclaimed a "Black Manifesto." It demanded $500 million from American churches and synagogues for their role in perpetuating slavery before the Civil War. Black nationalist organizations, such as the Black Panther Party and Black Muslims, also demanded reparations.

In the 1980s, a new call arose for black reparations. It was stimulated by two other movements that successfully secured payments from the U.S. government. The Supreme Court in 1980 ordered the federal government to pay eight Sioux Indian tribes $122 million to compensate for the illegal seizure of tribal lands in 1877. Then in 1988, Congress approved the payment of $1.25 billion to 60,000 Japanese-American citizens who had been interned in prison camps during World War II.


FIFTY DOLLA
REWAR
Ran away from Mount Welby, P
George's County, Maryland, on
the 2d inst., a negro man calling
Joe Bond, about 25 years of age,
5 feet 6 inches in height, stout built,
per complexion; the only mark
lected is a peculiar speck in one
eyes. Had on when he went away a
tweed coat, dark brown, and cap
same color. I will give twenty-five do
if taken in Prince George's County,
or in Alexandria County, Virginia;
fifty dollars if taken elsewhere
turned to me, or secured so
again;
T. R.
Prince George's,

Slavery existed in America for centuries. Should the U.S. government compensate blacks for slavery and its consequences?

In April 1989, Council Member Ray Jenkins guided through the Detroit City Council a resolution. It called for a $40 billion federal education fund for black college and trade school students. About the same time, a conference of black state legislators meeting in New Orleans backed the idea of a federally financed education fund for descendants of slaves. Shortly afterward, Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-MI) drafted a bill calling for the establishment of a congressional commission to study the impact of slavery on African-Americans.

THE CONYERS BILL

Rep. Conyers introduced his bill (HR 3745) in November 1989. The preamble of the bill declared its purpose:

> To acknowledge the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a Commission to examine the institution of slavery, subsequent de jure and de facto and economic discrimination against African-Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African-Americans, to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies, and for other purposes.

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This bill failed to make it to a House vote, but Conyers did not give up. In every session of Congress since then, he has introduced new legislation to establish a commission to study the issue and make recommendations to Congress. While none has succeeded, Conyers vows to keep trying.

Throughout the years, people have proposed different reparation plans. Some, like Robert Brock, a Los Angeles campaigner for reparations, argued for direct payments to descendants of slaves. "The government owes us money on a number of different fronts," the 66-year-old black activist declared, ". . . for labor, for loss of culture and of humanity."

Some supporters of reparations, like journalist Ron Daniels, proposed government financing of a national fund to develop educational and economic opportunities for the entire African-American community. Daniels argued in an editorial that "America must own up to its responsibility to make a damaged people whole again."

Others, such as the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), advocate a broader approach. They believe that government could satisfy the call for reparations by a variety of means, including land, ownership of companies, stock, money, and aircraft. The group also calls for a method of self-government for American blacks to give them autonomy.

Just as advocates are not unanimous about the form of reparations, neither are they united on the amount. Some favor direct payments to slave descendants ranging from $25,000 to $100,000 or more. Others, like N'COBRA, believe a final amount cannot be determined until more study has been done to determine the harm slavery has caused blacks. But they suggest the total amount could be in the "trillions."

REPARATIONS, PRO AND CON

Many people and groups have voiced their opposition to the whole idea of slavery reparations. Major arguments against reparations include:

- There are no black slaves living today. Slavery ended more than 160 years ago at the cost of several hundred thousand lives lost in the Civil War. It is unfair to ask American taxpayers, many of them from families that came to the United States after slavery ended, to pay for the wrongs of slavery.
- The problems faced by African Americans today are not the "legacy of slavery" or even racism. Many blacks have succeeded very well in American society. The problems of poor African Americans are caused by social ills within the inner city, such as the breakdown of families, high crime rates, and dependence on welfare.
- Federal and state governments have already spent billions of dollars on social programs such as welfare, subsidized housing, health care, employment development, affirmative action, and education. These programs have benefited African Americans.
- African Americans, particularly the young, need to overcome their problems through their own efforts and not depend on more government handouts and benefits.
- Reparations would be too expensive, depriving the country of the opportunity to fix the Social Security and Medicare systems and meet other budget needs that benefit all Americans.
- Any reparation plan would lead to unfairness and huge administrative costs. Who would receive reparations? Descendants of slaves? All blacks? Would well-off African

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Americans receive payments? If a fund were set up, who would administer it? Would those unhappy with the plan call for even more reparations or file lawsuits?

Advocates for reparations reject these arguments. They contend:

- The claim for reparations is not against white Americans or even individual Americans. It is a claim against American government and society, which has continued from the time of slavery. As all members of society share in society's benefits, they also must share the burdens in the form of taxation. Through slavery, African Americans were terribly wronged and modern blacks were robbed of their inheritance. Further, blacks face racism every day. They deserve to be compensated.
- The problems faced by many blacks today come from slavery and society's ongoing racism. Blacks were uprooted from their homes in Africa and brutalized in America by a system that destroyed the family structure and degraded the individual. When slavery ended, African Americans owned nothing. Isolated and discriminated against, they were denied education, contacts with society, and economic opportunity. Compared to whites, blacks remain in a disadvantaged position and will remain so until they receive compensation and society's racism ends.
- Welfare, subsidized housing, affirmative action, and other previous efforts to address socio-economic problems of the black underclass have been too little and too late. They failed because society has failed to come to grips with the central problem—its own racism and discrimination. In some cases, social programs, though well-intentioned, actually increased black isolation and further degraded the black community. In addition, these programs benefited other groups, not just blacks. By doing so, they failed to address the unique claims based on slavery that African-Americans have.
- Reparations will not promote dependency. Instead, they will give individual African Americans and the community as a whole a chance to create their own economic base and become self-reliant.
- The cost of reparations may be great, but a debt is owed and must be paid. The moral claim for reparations at least equals that of any other government program. America is a rich country, and if the will exists, the money can be found.
- Just as it is too early to decide how much is due in reparations, it is too early to agree on how to distribute the reparations. Fair methods can be worked out once society acknowledges its obligation to provide reparations in the first place.

While it is unclear whether those advocating reparations for slavery ever will be successful, it is likely the debate will go on.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. After the passage of the 13th Amendment following the Civil War, should the former slaves have been granted reparations?
2. How are reparations for black slavery similar and different from the following:
   a. reparations paid by the U.S. government to the Sioux Indians for lands illegally confiscated in 1877?
   b. reparations paid by the West German government to Jewish survivors of Nazi concentration camps?
   c. reparations paid by the U.S. government to Japanese Americans interned unconstitutionally in prison camps during World War II?
3. Do you agree or disagree that many problems faced today by the African-American community are the "legacy of slavery"? Why or why not?

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Education for a Diverse Nation

The people of America represent an array of races, cultures, and ethnic communities. In turn, each group has contributed its traditions, cuisines, languages, skills, and experiences to what has evolved as the unique culture of the United States.

In classrooms around the country, students are learning more about America's rich diversity than ever before. This is due to an educational reform movement called multicultural education.

Before 1970, schools paid less attention to the stories of women and minorities in our nation's history. Most students studied the world from the point of view of Western European history and civilization. Literature courses concentrated on the works of white authors, mostly male and American or English.

The classroom provides opportunities for young Americans to learn the value of diversity at an early age.

Today, working with revised U.S. history textbooks, teachers have resources to tell a more comprehensive story of the contributions and struggles of Indian, African-American, Chicano, and Asian-American populations. Instead of Western civilization, most students now study world history with a focus on the civilizations from Asia, Africa, Meso-America and the Indian subcontinent as well as Europe. Today, literature courses are more likely to cover the work of women and writers of color. In addition, many schools hold ethnic festivals and food days and celebrate a variety of special holidays and commemorations, such as Martin Luther King Day, Black History Month, Cinco de Mayo, and Chinese New Year.

Multicultural education grew out of social activism in the 1960s and the civil rights movement. According to James Banks, a leading educational theorist, the movement began as African-American scholars tried to empower black students by teaching them about their own traditions, culture, and history. Soon other ethnic groups–Native Americans, Chicanos, and Asians–developed similar programs. Ethnic studies programs became popular on both college and high school campuses. Many of these programs emphasized how racism and discrimination had victimized minority groups throughout U.S. history.

While these programs continued, multicultural education evolved. Other groups including women, people with disabilities, and the gay community saw a need for greater educational attention concerning the unequal treatment they had received from society and to address the special needs of these groups. Again, special programs were established at the college and secondary levels.

Today, though multicultural education has had a significant impact on American education, it means different things to different people.

For many, the focus should be on content. From this perspective, information about the cultures of all students in schools should be taught. Textbooks and lessons should give the perspective of all the peoples who have contributed to the American experience, not just those who can trace their origins to Europe. For example, all students should learn about the history of Latinos in the United States, the contributions of African civilization, and the struggles of American Indians, not just from the perspective of Europeans, but from the perspectives of these groups. This is the most common viewpoint of those favoring multicultural education.

Others, however, believe that multicultural education needs to go further to assure that children from all cultures have an equal chance to succeed. This will require changing the practices and methods of American schooling. From this perspective, schools need to examine their teaching methods to find out how they affect minority students. Teachers should be trained in the learning styles of different school populations and adjust their teaching to accommodate them. Sometimes, this will require schools to offer courses in

different languages, change discipline practices, or modify testing.

Others want to see multicultural education go further still. From this perspective, America is at its root a racist society. Its institutions, including schools, discriminate against women, minorities, and other groups. The power of these institutions is controlled by privileged white males from European origins who also benefit economically from their power. From this perspective, schools must help students learn to identify and combat racism. Students also must be trained in the methods of social activism to assure equality and a redistribution of power and wealth in America.

PHILOSOPHICAL DEBATES

These are the major divisions within multicultural education. Not everyone, however, supports multicultural education. Critics from the center, right, and left of American politics have raised issues about the various assumptions, goals, and practices of the movement.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a noted historian, argues that the United States needs schools that unite Americans. They should teach English as a common language. Students should learn about America's political and legal traditions, which happen to have evolved from America's British heritage. He worries that much multicultural education pushes too far the "cult of ethnicity," which could result in disunity and ethnic strife.

Some social conservatives are even more harshly critical. They argue that some multiculuralist approaches overstate racism in America and ignore the real progress that has been made to assure equality for all. They claim that some programs seek to make students hate whites and traditional American ideals. They also worry that multicultural education is a Trojan horse for 1960s-style radicals who now teach at colleges and universities. Radical leftists, they charge, are trying to advance their own political agenda by promoting multicultural education.

Even some on the left of the political spectrum have criticized how multiculturalism is being applied in schools. They support the reform, but they believe that after nearly 25 years, it should have made more progress. While noting that most schools and textbooks do provide more coverage of other cultures and offer ethnic celebrations, they argue that this amounts to a token effort. They fault the American education system for not exposing the racism they believe is inherent in society or the social issues raised by it. They argue that more attention should go to helping students become active in changing society. They blame school administrators and school boards for discouraging such efforts.

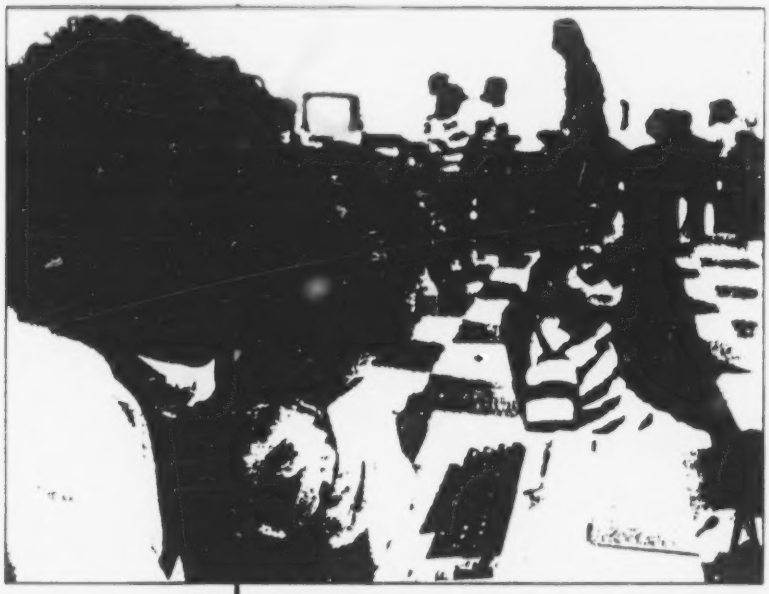
CONTROVERSIAL PRACTICES

According to polls, most Americans tend to support more teaching about diversity and various cultures in schools. A 1999 opinion poll conducted by Hamilton College in New York found that most young adults favored multicultural education. Still, certain multicultural educational practices have created controversy.

One of the most heated controversies took place in California. It illustrates how shrill debates over multicultural education can be and how difficult it can be to discuss the subject. The controversy erupted over a marginal issue, but opponents of multicultural education and the media turned it into a national story.

In 1996, the Oakland School Board grew concerned that African-American students in the school district had very low scores in language skills. After studying the problem, the board decided on a new course of action to help these students improve their performance. The board passed a resolution declaring that Ebonics (also called Black English) was the primary language of Oakland's African-American students. Black English is a version of standard English often learned in black ethnic neighborhoods. Its use of certain verb tenses, vocabulary, and slang differs significantly from standard English.

The resolution claimed that Black English developed from certain African languages and was "genetically based." It further claimed that black students' language skills could be improved by using "African-American language principles (Ebonics) in instructing African-American children both in their primary language and in English." Finally, the resolution ordered district teacher training in



Multicultural education attempts to include America's diverse traditions, cultures, and histories in the learning process.

the principles of African Language Systems. In a policy statement, also adopted, the board seemed to be calling for federal and state bilingual funds to pay for the program.

The resolution raised a storm of controversy widely reported by the media. Some critics charged that the Oakland School Board was trying to elevate black slang to the level of language to qualify for government funding for bilingual education. Others argued that by endorsing Ebonics the board was doing a disservice to black youth by approving poor language skills and not preparing them for participation in mainstream society. Others argued that no language is *genetically* based. They said that black students can easily learn standard English and viewed the Ebonics approach as demeaning to black students. Some radio hosts and commentators ridiculed the whole idea.

Many prominent African Americans also criticized the resolution. These included Colin Powell, Oprah Winfrey, Eldridge Cleaver, Julian Bond, and Jesse Jackson. (Jesse Jackson later met with members of the Oakland board and modified his stance. Although he did not endorse the use of Ebonics, he did support the Oakland board's effort to address student language needs.)

The resolution also raised a debate among language experts, called linguists. Most argued that Ebonics is not a language, but is instead a dialect based on standard English. Some, claiming that Ebonics has its own set of grammatical rules, argued that it is a separate language.

The debate had importance because under the law only separate languages can qualify for federal bilingual-education funding. This issue was quickly settled. President Clinton and Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley stated they would oppose federal funding for Ebonics instruction.

Pressured by the public reaction, the Oakland School Board withdrew its original resolution and passed a new one. The second resolution did not refer to the term "Ebonics." It also dropped the reference to Ebonics being genetically based. The second resolution, however, did continue to endorse the use of African Language System principles to help students attain English skills. Officials also claimed that the resolution was never intended to get bilingual funds for Ebonics instruction and that all costs of the program would come out of district funds only.

The new resolution did not settle the debate over Ebonics. Supporters of the Oakland board criticized the media for blowing the issue out of proportion by making it seem as if the resolution called for separate courses or classes in Ebonics. They also claimed that by heaping ridicule on the proposal and the board's perceived motivations, the media displayed deep racist feelings. Others, while believing that the Oakland board overstated its case for Ebonics, argued that the debate did raise an important issue about methods for improving African-American student language skills and the need to do so.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What were the origins of multicultural education?
2. What should the goals of multicultural education be? Why?
3. Do you agree with the critics of multicultural education? Why or why not?

Bilingual Education

Although the U.S. Constitution does not mention language, English has always been considered America's national tongue. Most people believe that immigrants must learn English to succeed in America. In fact, by the third generation, immigrants have usually lost their native language and only speak English.

Even so, the presence of foreign languages in America sometimes has stirred controversy. In 1753, Benjamin Franklin voiced his concern about the high number of German immigrants who refused to speak English in America. "We will not be able to preserve our language and even our government will become precarious," Franklin wrote.

At the turn of the 20th century, Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed, "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans . . . ." For Roosevelt and Franklin, as for many other citizens, being American meant speaking English.

Even so, for most of the 18th and 19th centuries, American school teachers in immigrant communities often taught lessons in languages other than English. Only rarely did they encounter opposition. Some states even passed laws allowing instruction in another language when the parents requested. Ohio, for example, authorized German instruction in 1839, and Louisiana officially approved French in 1847.

Attitudes about foreign-language instruction began to change around 1900, when a wave of new immigrants from Europe stirred fear that America was becoming "a babel of tongues." Between 1897 and 1915, 13 states passed laws requiring that all classroom instruction be in English. During World War I, American patriotism drove German and most other foreign languages out of public use. Several school districts burned German textbooks and most states passed laws restricting the use of foreign languages in the classroom.

During the 1950s, immigration from Latin America began to increase. Today, more than half the people who come to the United States speak Spanish. No other language group has ever dominated American immigration statistics so completely.

Through the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, most immigrant parents wanted their children to learn English as quickly as possible to speed their assimilation into American culture. During the 1960s, however, Latino parents began to protest school dropout rates—more than 50 percent nationwide—for Spanish-speaking children. They called for legislation to address the needs of Latino school children. In 1968, Congress approved the Bilingual Education Act, which provided funds for teaching students with limited-English skills.

The controversy over bilingual education directly affects the classroom. What methods are best to teach students who speak limited English?

In 1974, the Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols* handed down a major ruling on language education. Non-English-speaking Chinese-American students had sued the San Francisco Unified School District. Their lawyers had argued that the students were failing school because they could not understand English, and the district had made no special attempts to teach them English. The court unanimously decided that placing non-English-speaking children in regular classrooms violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court ruled that these students must receive special help. It stated that "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."

Following this decision, Congress passed the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. It directed school districts to develop programs to help children with limited English skills.

In response, many districts developed bilingual education programs. Programs differ, but typically bilingual education teaches math, science, history, and other subjects in the students' native language while they learn English. When they have become literate in English, bilingual students are transferred into

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PROFILE

AIDA ALVAREZ (1949–)

Businesswoman, journalist, cabinet member

As head of the U.S. Small Business Administration, Alvarez is the first Latina and the first person of Puerto Rican heritage to serve in the president's cabinet. Alvarez graduated with honors from Harvard University and began her career as a journalist, winning an Associated Press Award for Excellence and an Emmy nomination for her reporting. She went on to work as an investment banker before joining the Clinton administration as director of the Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight. In 1997, she was appointed administrator of the SBA.

mainstream English-speaking classes. With 1.4 million students enrolled with limited-English skills, California became the nation's most important bilingual-education laboratory.

Bilingual education has brought several clear benefits. First of all, it has drawn attention to the needs of immigrant children. Most people today acknowledge that our society depends on a literate population and recognize that immigrant children deserve special treatment. Bilingual funding has also allowed schools to pay for much-needed social services, such as psychologists, speech therapists, and counselors. In addition, bilingual education has encouraged parent involvement in school activities. Today, teachers and administrators make greater efforts to translate school information bilingually to immigrant parents. In these ways, bilingual education has gained positive results.

But some experts and many parents challenge its effectiveness. Little research has demonstrated positive results from teaching children in their native languages. Although relieving stress and promoting self-esteem are two reasons cited for adopting bilingual education, no studies have conclusively proven that self-esteem is higher among limited-English students who study in their native languages. Stress is also not measurably higher in immigrant school children who are introduced to English in the classroom.

Despite the nearly 30-year application of bilingual education, dropout rates for Spanish-speaking students have remained between 30 and 35 percent, more than twice the rate for English-speaking students.

In the 1990s, despite three to six years' participation in bilingual programs, many limited-English students still could not make the transition into mainstream classes. Others continued to drop out of school at alarming rates.

In 1998, a California businessman named Ron Unz placed an initiative on the state ballot that called for students with limited-English skills to receive one year of intensive English and then move into regular classes. Though hotly contested, the initiative, called Proposition 227, won a lopsided victory in the California elections of 1998. Supporters of the measure seek to introduce similar measures in other states and in Congress.

Supporters of Proposition 227, also known as the English-Only Initiative, offered several arguments on its behalf. They maintained that if non-English-speaking students are sheltered in classrooms where their native language is spoken, they will never learn English, the key to success in America.

They also argued that bilingual education threatens our sense of national identity and sends the wrong message to immigrants—that someone can live in the United States and enjoy its wealth and freedom without participating in mainstream American life. They expressed fears that the United States is growing more segregated, with isolated populations living in language and culture ghettos. Encouraging a common language, they said, would help people from diverse backgrounds communicate with others.

Some of the loudest objections to bilingual education came from the parents of limited-English students. In a recent survey of Latino parents conducted by the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, D.C., a strong majority of parents considered learning English to be the most important educational goal for their children. Although California Latinos opposed Proposition 227 by a 2 to 1 margin, Latino opposition to bilingual education has grown.

"Education is the only hope for a better future for our children," one immigrant parent said. "The first step is learning English."

"We can give them Spanish at home," said another.

Some educators and linguists believe that people's objections to bilingual education are

DRIVING WHILE MINORITY

As we enter a new century, questions continue to be asked about whether America's criminal justice system is fair to minorities. Critics of the system complain that it treats minority Americans, particularly African-American citizens, more harshly than white Americans. For example, black Americans make up about one-eighth of the population, but account for about one-half of the prison population. African-Americans convicted of crimes are more likely to go to prison than whites, and their sentences are longer.

Statistics show that relative to their proportion of the population, African-Americans are much more likely to commit street crimes. But some experts claim that blacks and other minorities are more likely to get arrested than whites because of racial and ethnic discrimination.

For many years, blacks and other minorities have complained that police often target minority drivers, pulling them over for minor infractions or no reason at all and often subjecting them to humiliating car or body searches. John Lambeth of Temple University conducted a recent study to determine whether blacks were being targeted on the New Jersey Turnpike. After much research, he determined that African Americans made up 13.5 percent of highway users and 15 percent of the speeders, but he found that they represented 35 percent of those stopped by police. That is, they were 4.86 times more likely to be pulled over than other drivers. Similar results were found in studies conducted in Maryland and Florida.

Other minority community members complain that they too are stopped and questioned by authorities for no good reason. Latinos protest that they are targeted at Border Patrol checkpoints within the United States, and Arab-Americans claim that they are often detained for long periods by airport security, especially after a terrorist scare.

Pulling over a car, or stopping a person, solely on the basis of the driver's race violates the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees equal protection under the law. If proven, it would invalidate an arrest or the use of any evidence seized from the driver. The more difficult question arises over police officer discretion in deciding who to pull over. In the 1996 case of *Whren v. U.S.*, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the traditional rule that police may stop a car for any traffic or equipment violation even if they have a different motivation for making the stop, such as the suspicion of drug trafficking.

Some experts point to "profiling" as the major cause of disproportionate traffic stops on minorities. Profiles are systems used by police to predict criminal behavior. Some use scientific methods and statistics to develop a list of factors that make up a profile of a potential suspect. They might include age, location, type of car, time of day, driving patterns, route of travel, and whether the driver is alone. Profiles can also target white citizens. For example, a police officer might be more likely to pull over a late-model car for a minor traffic violation if it were driven by a white youth at night in an inner-city neighborhood where drug dealing occurs. In this case, the driver might fit a profile of someone who is likely trying to buy drugs.

Those who support profiling argue that it is an effective law-enforcement tool. Opponents argue that even if the profiles do not expressly rely on race or ethnicity, the factors used often tend to target poor and ethnic minorities.

Many questions remain: Is profiling an effective law-enforcement tool? If so, are its benefits worth its costs? Should police ever be allowed to consider race when deciding whether to make a traffic stop?

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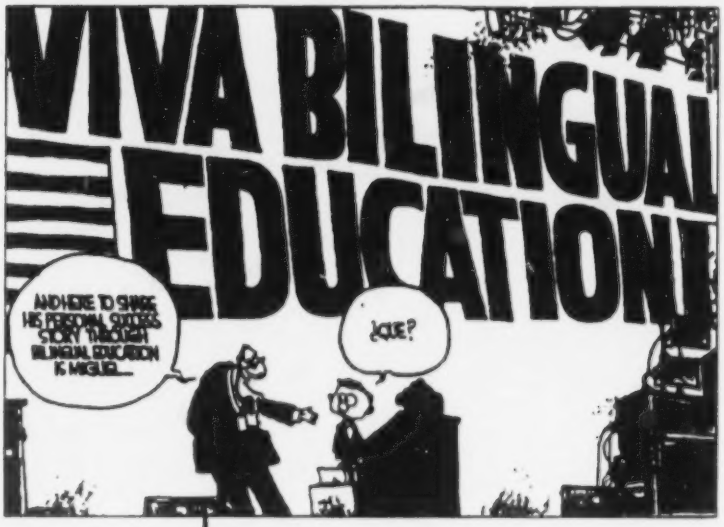

based on good intentions, but reflect a lack of understanding about how children learn a second language. They argue that English as a second language (ESL) is best when introduced gradually into the classroom through a process called "transference." With transference, students communicate on a linguistic two-way street, using both languages interchangeably. Bilingual education works, but it takes time, these experts insist. Although most students can learn conversational English in a year, it normally takes students five to seven years to learn "academic English," the English needed in school to learn other subjects. If students are placed in English-only classrooms before they are ready, say these experts, the students will fall far behind.

Each student learns differently, these educators explain. Some children will succeed in an English-only classroom, while others will not. English-only advocates want to paint all English learners with one broad stroke, they say.

They point to studies proving that bilingual education does not slow the acquisition of English and that well-developed skills in both languages contribute to high levels of academic achievement in all subjects.. A 1998 study in California's Orange County schools showed that students who successfully learned English as a second language scored higher on statewide academic achievement tests than their English-only peers.

On the other hand, many educators point to bilingual education's poor track record and favor a change in policy. In 1995, the California Board of Education announced that the preference for bilingual education would be revoked and school districts would be given more flexibility in choosing their own teaching methods for limited-English students. Matta Tuchman, a recognized Latina advocate for improved education for immigrant children, strongly supports English-only education. Jaime Escalante, the former Los Angeles teacher who won awards for his teaching successes, also supported Proposition 227.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, director of the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) writes, "Bilingual education has had a sufficient trial period to be pronounced a failure. It is time finally to welcome immigrant children into our society by adding to the language they already know a full degree of competency in the common language of their new country–to give these children the very best educational opportunity for inclusion."

The debate over bilingual education continues. Some question whether it should be a political issue at all. They believe it is a matter of educational methodology, which should be left to professional educators and local boards. Opponents of bilingual education strongly disagree. They point out that supporters of bilingual education have tried to get states to mandate bilingual instruction. Opponents say that they are simply doing the opposite–getting states to stop teachers from using it.

The debate is divisive. But most people agree that all children deserve a complete and effective education, regardless of the language they first learn to speak.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What is bilingual education? What is its purpose?
2. What was the Supreme Court's decision in *Lau v. Nichols*? Do you agree with it? Why or why not?
3. What are some arguments in favor of bilingual education? What are some arguments opposing it? Which do you agree with? Why?
4. Do you think bilingual education should be a political issue? Explain.

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Outlawing Hate

- In 1998, three white men murdered James Byrd Jr., a black man, by dragging him for three miles behind a truck until his body was literally torn apart. The men, all sworn racists, targeted Byrd because he was black.
- In 1998, a young, gay college student, Matthew Shepard, was brutally beaten and left to die entangled in a fence. His murderers chose their victim because of his sexual orientation.
- In 1994, a white man in Lubbock, Texas, was murdered by two African-American men. The father of three, the victim was chosen because he was white.

Each of these brutal murders had one thing in common: They were motivated by hate. These incidents and others around the country have drawn increased attention to the problem of crimes motivated by prejudice, or so-called hate crimes.

Currently 45 states have hate-crime laws. Some of these laws define a hate crime as any crime committed against a person or a person's property motivated because of the person's race, religion, nationality, or ethnicity. Others also prosecute crimes motivated by bias against gender, sexual orientation, and disability as hate crimes.

In 1996, according to the U.S. Department of Justice, 8,749 hate crimes were reported around the United States. The motivation or bias behind these crimes broke down as follows:

race	5,396	incidents
religion	1,401	incidents
sexual orientation	1,016	incidents
ethnicity or nationality	940	incidents
more than one bias	6	incidents

Crimes against persons, such as assault or threats and intimidation, accounted for about 70 percent of the reports. Making threats or intimidating people was the most common hate-crime report and accounted for about 40 percent of all hate crimes.

In 1997, hate-crime reports decreased slightly, dropping to 8,049 nationwide even with more jurisdictions reporting. Each of the previous six years had shown an increase in hate crimes.

Still, experts disagree whether hate crimes are increasing or decreasing in the United States. Part of the problem comes from the hate-crime statistics themselves. The federal government has only been collecting them since 1991. Some places do not report hate crimes as a separate type of crime, but each year more agencies have started reporting them. This makes it difficult to accurately compare one year with another or to study trends.

Officers escort white-supremacist Buford Furrow Jr. (center) out of court. He is charged with shooting people in a Los Angeles Jewish community center and killing an Asian-American postal worker.

Compared to all other types of crime, the overall number of hate crimes is small. But some experts claim that many hate crimes are not reported. They also point out that most crimes in the United States target property, but most hate crimes target people.

According to a 1999 Gallup Poll, one out of eight Americans is worried about being the victim of a hate crime. Among non-whites, however, one in four worry about being victimized.

THE CAUSES OF HATE CRIME

In recent years, scholars have been trying to find out what causes increases or decreases in the number of hate crimes. Professor Donald Green and his colleagues at Yale University have found that:

- Economic trends have little to do with hate crimes. Using both historical and modern data, one study found that hate crimes do not seem to increase in difficult economic times or decrease when the economy is strong.
- Racially based hate crimes seem to increase when an area previously populated by one racial or ethnic group experiences a rapid influx of people from another group.

- Neighborhoods that are integrated tend to have lower rates of hate crimes.

These findings may help authorities more effectively deal with hate crimes. For example, by concentrating education and enforcement efforts in communities undergoing rapid shifts in ethnic or racial make-up, hate-crime rates might go down.

R.A.V. v. CITY OF ST. PAUL

Some critics of hate-crime legislation argue that these laws violate the First Amendment's protection of free speech. This gives every American the right to express opinions or hold ideas even if they are racist or bigoted. On several occasions, the U.S. Supreme Court has been asked to determine whether hate-crime laws violate the Constitution.

In 1989, St. Paul, Minnesota, passed a city ordinance making it a crime to place on public or private land a hate symbol, such as a burning cross or Nazi swastika. About a year later, police arrested a group of white juveniles for a series of cross burnings. In one instance, the youths taped chair legs together into a crude cross and set it ablaze inside the fenced yard of a black family.

In an appeal that reached the U.S. Supreme Court, attorneys for the juvenile defendants argued that the St. Paul law violated the First Amendment. The city responded that by prohibiting such acts as cross burnings, the ordinance served "a compelling governmental interest" to protect the community against hate-motivated threats.

In June 1992, a unanimous Supreme Court agreed with the juvenile defendants. Writing the opinion for the court, Justice Antonin Scalia stated that although government may outlaw activities that present a danger to the community, it may not outlaw them simply because they express ideas that most people or the government find despicable.

Scalia also pointed out that other laws existed to control and punish such acts as cross burnings. In this case, the city could have prosecuted the juvenile offenders under laws against trespassing, arson, vandalism, and terrorism. (*R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul.*)

STATE OF WISCONSIN v. TODD MITCHELL

Other hate-crime laws are different. Instead of creating special hate crimes, these statutes add extra penalties for any crime committed out of hate. For example, Wisconsin's hate-crime statute increases the maximum penalty for an offense whenever a criminal "intentionally selects the person against whom the crime . . . is committed . . . because of the race, religion, color, disability, sexual orientation, national origin or ancestry of that person. . . ."

On October 7, 1989, Todd Mitchell, 19, and a group of other young black men violated the law in Kenosha, Wisconsin. After seeing the movie *Mississippi Burning*, which concerns Ku Klux Klan terrorism against blacks in the South during the 1960s, they decided to attack a 14-year-old white boy, Gregory Reddick. Mitchell asked his friends, "Do you feel hyped up to move on some white people?" He then pointed to Reddick and said, "There goes a white boy. Go get him!" About 10 members of the group, but not Mitchell himself, ran across the street, beat up Reddick, and stole his tennis shoes. Severely beaten, Reddick remained in a coma for four days and suffered permanent brain damage.

As the instigator of the attack, Mitchell was tried and convicted of aggravated battery, which normally carries a penalty of two years in prison. But the jury found that Mitchell had selected his victim because of his race. Consequently, the judge applied Wisconsin's hate-crime enhancement law and added two more years to Mitchell's sentence.

Mitchell appealed his sentence, claiming that the state's enhancement act violated the First Amendment. Eventually, the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Below are some of the major points raised in defense of the hate-crime law in the state's brief to the court:

1. The enhancement law applies only to criminal acts (i.e., selecting a victim), not to speech or actions protected by the First Amendment.

2. During sentencing, judges commonly consider many things, including a criminal's motives.

3. Unlike *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, the law in this case does not prohibit specific speech, symbols, or beliefs.

4. The purpose of the state's enhanced penalty law is to eliminate prejudiced criminal behavior, which is a "compelling governmental interest."

The attorneys representing Mitchell made these points in challenging the law before the Supreme Court:

1. Selecting a victim is not an act but a mental process that is therefore protected by the First Amendment.

2. Judges may consider a broad range of things in sentencing criminals, but they should not be required to automatically lengthen penalties solely because of a criminal's motives.

3. The enhancement law is based on a criminal's motives, which are, in turn, based on his or her thoughts and beliefs, which are protected by the First Amendment.

4. The Wisconsin law also violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment by treating criminals who are motivated by prejudice differently from criminals not so motivated, even though their crimes are identical.

In June 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Wisconsin hate-crime penalty-enhancement law. Writing for a unanimous court, Chief Justice William Rehnquist ruled that a criminal's prejudiced motives may be used in sentencing, although "a defendant's abstract beliefs, however obnoxious to most people, may not be taken into consideration by a sentencing judge." The chief justice also stated that "the statute in this case is aimed at conduct unprotected by the First Amendment." (*State of Wisconsin v. Todd Mitchell.*)

As the Wisconsin and Minnesota cases show, the line between punishing hate and protecting speech and free thought can be difficult to draw. On one side, our Constitution seeks to assure tolerance and equal protection for all citizens no matter what their race, ethnicity, religion, or gender. On the other hand, our Constitution contains protections for individual beliefs, no matter how distasteful they might be. As the U.S. Supreme Court has determined, the state may not make the expression of hate a criminal matter, but it can punish criminal acts motivated by hate more harshly.

HATE CRIMES, PRO AND CON

Since laws enhancing punishments for hate crimes have been found constitutional, more states and the federal government are considering adopting such laws. Supporters see these laws as extremely important in our diverse society. They believe hate crimes deeply hurt all levels of the community—individuals, families, groups, and society at large. Hate crimes intentionally send a message that minorities are unwelcome and unsafe. Supporters argue that hate-crime laws will help prevent much violence and will convey our society's intolerance for these crimes.

Opponents view hate-crime legislation as well-meaning but unnecessary and even counterproductive. They argue that anyone who commits a serious crime is already punishable under current state laws. These laws protect everyone equally. They see no reason to pass laws that set up special classes of victims. In addition, they see no need for federal intervention into an area of law that states have traditionally handled. Further, they contend that hate-crime laws will primarily affect those who commit lesser crimes by sending more of them to prison. They believe that sending someone into our overburdened and racist-filled prison system is likely to make them more racist. Thus the law may actually increase hate crimes.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What are hate crimes? Why is it difficult to determine if they are increasing or decreasing?

2. How serious do you think the problem of hate crimes is in the United States? Explain.

3. Do you agree with the court's decision in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*? Why or why not?

4. Do you think states and the federal government should pass hate-crime legislation? Explain.

MINORITIES AND THE MEDIA

Today's entertainment and news media affect us as never before. Movies, television, radio, cable, newspapers, and magazines bombard us with messages. They influence our buying habits and how we view ourselves and society.

Given the power of the media, it is little wonder that controversy arises over how the media portray and reflect the diversity of our country.

Over the years, various groups have complained about how minorities are portrayed in movies and on television. Critics have also called for more jobs in the media for minorities—as actors, newscasters, technicians, programmers, and executives.

In recent years, many movies and television programs have featured African Americans. Yet, some critics still argue that blacks are underrepresented. African Americans make up about 12 percent of the U.S. population, and 25 percent of the moviegoers. In 1999, however, not a single black was nominated for an Academy Award, and no new network show starred a minority. Less than 4 percent of Academy, Writers Guild, or Directors Guild members are black. Critics contend that while blacks have made progress in front of the camera, the industry bars them from jobs on the inside. On the other hand, Screen Actor Guild statistics show that African-Americans receive 13.4 percent of assigned roles, a rate greater than their representation in the population, but smaller than their representation in the movie-going public.

Although Latinos account for almost 11 percent of the population, their appearance in television and movies, according to a recent Screen Actors Guild study, accounts for only 3.5 percent of the roles. This rate is the lowest of all minorities.

Asian Americans receive 2.1 percent of the roles compared to their population representation of 3.6 percent. When it comes to being cast in commercials, however, Asian Americans are represented at about the same rate as their proportion of the population.

The current trend of minority representation in media casting is unclear. After showing increases for six years, 1998 saw a slight decline in minority casting overall to 19 percent. While many agree that the opportunities for minorities in the media have greatly increased over the years, others argue that the media industries have a long way to go before they are truly representative.

There is also little consensus about the causes for the disparities. Some claim that pervasive racism accounts for the problem, arguing that the media merely reflect a broader societal problem.

Others argue that the disparity comes more from power and economics. Programming decisions are made by a network of people often with long-term associations. Since this group tends to be white, program decisions reflect a white view of the world and might overlook the potential for programs that would feature minority experiences or situations.

In addition, most programming decisions are based on money. Often millions of dollars are invested in a potential TV pilot or movie production. Success or failure depends on rating points or box-office receipts. Those programs most likely to appeal to the greatest number are the ones that get made. In short, programming decisions tend to favor projects that appeal to the largest demographic group and discourage those that might be risky.

Still the questions remain. Should or can minority representation in the media be proportional to the population as a whole? If that is a goal, how can it be achieved?

BRINGING US TOGETHER

CHAPTER 5

Promoting Diversity

Today, many consider diversity to be one of America's most valuable assets. Most Americans believe that our nation's success depends in part on the unique contributions of millions of immigrants from hundreds of cultures and nationalities. These contributions have helped create a rich and diverse American identity. America's diversity has expanded our knowledge of the world and tested the limits of our freedoms and our notions of tolerance. It has generated useful dialogue on issues of equality and broadened our thinking about ethnicity, race, and religion. Diversity has brought different faces, sights, and sounds to our communities. It has introduced new music, drama, and literature into our cultural experience. Most important, the constant changes in America's diverse population has kept America flexible and able to grow.

The face of America is constantly changing. Today, America is roughly 73 percent white, 11 percent Hispanic, 12 percent black, 4 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, and 1 percent American Indian. Sometime past the middle of the 21st century, however, these percentages will have changed. No single race or ethnic group will form a majority. America is quickly becoming a multiracial, multiethnic society.

How can Americans ensure equality in such a society? Two models—the U.S. military and the President's Initiative on Race—provide examples of directions we might take.

THE U.S. MILITARY

It may seem ironic to hold up the military as a model of equal opportunity. For much of its history, the U.S. military was rigidly segregated. In 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed an executive order declaring that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin." Although some senior officers grumbled, the military started desegregating. It was fully integrated during the Korean and Vietnam wars, but the armed forces had promoted relatively few minorities to senior officers and still experienced racial conflict within their ranks.

After Vietnam, military leaders began to regard racial and ethnic integration and harmony as necessities. The armed forces embarked on a bold affirmative action initiative. One official said, "Doing affirmative action the right way is deadly serious for us—people's lives depend upon it." They established new policies designed to guarantee equal treatment in the military.

In an integrated army, harmony between racial and ethnic groups can become a matter of survival.

Today, all armed forces emphasize gender and racial diversity in their promotion procedures. For example, racist behavior cancels out any possibility of promotion. In addition, candidates for Army promotion are placed in a pool of officer candidates. All candidates in the pool have qualified for promotion according to the same standards, regardless of gender, race, or ethnicity. These standards for promotion are well-defined and are common knowledge to all personnel.

There are no timetables to meet promotion goals. If no candidates qualify for promotion, none is promoted. A "second look" process reconsiders minority officer candidates to eliminate any possibility of accidental or intentional discrimination.

The military creates opportunities for minorities. Army training prepares members of traditionally disadvantaged groups to compete on an equal footing with more privileged groups. Special programs help minority youth qualify for enlistment, prepare enlisted soldiers to become non-commissioned officers, train minority college students to qualify as commissioned officers, and tutor minority applicants to West Point. These programs help lay the groundwork for youths from diverse backgrounds to meet military standards.

These procedures help guarantee that those promoted to leadership positions in the U.S. Army are fully qualified, regardless of gender, race, or ethnicity. Minority officers are confident that their promotion was based on their ability to meet the Army's standards, not because they are part of a minority quota.

Today, the U.S. Army stands as one of the most thoroughly integrated organizations in U.S. society. General Colin Powell is one of many minority officers who have risen to positions of influence in the U.S. military. Blacks and other minorities give orders to whites as a matter of routine. Soldiers of all backgrounds eat together in Army mess halls. The communities around most U.S. military bases are more racially integrated than communities that do not include military bases. Whites, blacks, and other minorities attached to military bases attend the same schools, restaurants, movie theaters, libraries, barber shops, and swimming pools.

The military has demonstrated that one of the most segregated organizations can make tremendous racial progress. Its policies for eliminating racism and ethnic division in its ranks have strong support from the people who know best—its soldiers. Seventy-five percent of minority soldiers believe that race relations are better in the Army than in civilian life. More than 80 percent of white soldiers agree with their minority counterparts.

The military, however, is different from civilian life. It is a closed system. No one is "hired" into the Army at a leadership level. Military discipline exerts more control over its members than civilian society does. Moreover, low achievers and misfits tend to leave the military. What can be done to improve relations in America's broader, more complex civilian society?

THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

In 1997, President Clinton announced "One America: The President's Initiative on Race." In a speech to University of California graduates, the president defined racial and ethnic division as one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century. He called upon Americans to "respect each others' differences and . . . embrace the values that unite us."

To implement this vision, the president created an advisory board to work with government, businesses, and community groups. The goals of the advisory board are to promote a national dialogue addressing issues of race, increase our understanding of race relations, and study racial disparity in education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, and the administration of justice.

The advisory board canvassed the nation, meeting with Americans who described how race and racism have impacted their lives. They found that:

- Americans feel more united than divided. Common values include a desire for freedom, equal opportunity, and a belief in fairness and justice. Shared goals include home ownership, quality education, and a decent job. All people want financial and personal security, adequate health care, and healthy, well-educated children.
- America is still struggling with old policies, practices, and attitudes based on racial and ethnic differences. A lack of awareness makes it difficult to find solutions that will improve race relations and

CIVIL CONVERSATION: THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICA

Minority groups are those with less than 50 percent of the population. Sometime past 2050, according to census projections, every race and ethnic group will be a minority.

	1900	1970	1999	2050
White	88	83	73	53
Black	11	11	12	14
Hispanic	N/A	4	11	25
Asian and Pacific Islanders	.2	.8	4	8
American Indian and Alaska Native	.3	.4	1	1

(Note: The 1970 census was the first that counted Hispanics separately. From 1970 on, white refers to non-Hispanic white and black refers to non-Hispanic black. The 2050 statistics are U.S. census projections.)

Based on this chart, how is America's population changing? What effects—positive and negative—might come from these changes? What steps can we take to make sure we all get along?

create equal opportunity for all Americans. This lack of awareness also obscures the progress made by affirmative-action programs in schools and in the workplace.

- Race in America is no longer simply about blacks and whites. Conversations about race must take into account Latinos, American Indians, and Asian-Pacific Americans. Interracial marriages have increased, making classification by race more complex. This growing diversity creates new challenges and opportunities and points to a need for a new perspective that can accommodate America's diverse makeup.
- Although minorities and people of color have made progress, persistent barriers to full participation in American society remain. The President's Initiative on Race recommends improvements in civil rights enforcement, education, and economic opportunity; eliminating racial and ethnic stereotypes; overhauling the criminal justice system; improving minority access to health coverage, and finding new means to integrate newly arrived immigrants into the mainstream of American society.

In the future, the President's Initiative on Race calls for:

- A council that would implement policies designed to increase opportunity and eliminate racial discrepancies.
- A public education program to present facts on race in America, celebrate racial and ethnic differences among Americans, and highlight common values Americans share.
- A call to action to leaders to address racial and ethnic conflict in their communities.
- A program to engage young people in efforts to bridge racial and ethnic conflict.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. In what ways do you think diversity helps America?
2. What do think might be some problems of diversity in coming decades?
3. What do you think can be done to alleviate these problems?

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Diversity Case Studies: Student Programs That Work

Clearly, students don't have the resources to address questions of diversity on the same level as the U.S. military or the President's Initiative on Race. There are, however, innumerable examples of individuals, schools, and communities that have found clever and practical ways to promote equality and peace among the races. Below are four examples of service-learning projects that began when students acted on their desire to create a more just environment for themselves, their friends and families, and the community at large.

Students at Los Angeles' Roosevelt High rebuilt a Japanese garden that was destroyed during World War II.

MOSAIC LEADERSHIP CLASS

Background In summer 1996, Fremont High School in Sunnyvale, California, sent 12 students to a conference focusing on issues of diversity. On their return, the excited conference participants found there was no forum to share their ideas with other students at Fremont. Making Our School An Inclusive Community (MOSAIC) was created in response to this need.

Program Members of MOSAIC created their own diversity curriculum. The course stresses leadership skills: encouraging and valuing diverse perspectives; listening; expressing oneself verbally and in writing; facilitating discussion; designing, organizing, implementing and evaluating projects; and working with others.

The first part of the course creates a safe space for dialogue. Icebreaker activities allow students to become comfortable with each other. The second part of the course uses lesson plans, videos, readings, and structured discussions and activities to explore issues of ethnicity, culture, race, gender, faith, family, and sexual orientation. In the final part, students turn their leadership skills into action by creating projects that make the school a more racially and ethnically sensitive community.

Outcomes MOSAIC allows students to assume responsibility for the cultural climate at Fremont High School. Participants have hosted a "cultural sharing day" with second-language students to share information on different cultures, designed and implemented a weekend diversity camp for 60 students and teachers, facilitated two full-day diversity workshops for Fremont students and teachers, and given diversity presentations to teachers and students from other schools.

YOUTH TASK FORCE REBUILDS GARDEN

Background A group of students at Los Angeles Roosevelt High School, which is now mostly Latino, were studying the history of their school. They learned that the school once had a traditional Japanese garden. After the United States entered World War II, anti-Japanese sentiment ran so high that community members destroyed the garden. Youth Task Force members decided to rebuild it as a tribute to Japanese Americans who had been relocated to internment camps during World War II and to former Roosevelt students of Japanese ancestry who died fighting for our country.

Program Youth Task Force members and other students found old yearbook photos of the garden and interviewed former Roosevelt students about their recollections of its appearance. From their research, students reconstructed a plan of the garden and made a list of plants and materials they would need to rebuild it. Then they went to the community for help. They found corporate sponsors, several non-profit organizations, former Roosevelt graduates, and a number of landscape

Diversity Checklist: Conflict Resolution ERACISM

Along with groups and governments, individuals can help combat racism in our society. Many sociologists believe that racism, like violence, has "risk factors," or elements that contribute to racist behavior. Among others, stereotyping, labeling, and a belief in racial, or ethnic superiority are all racial risk factors. If you remove these risk factors, racism tends to diminish or disappear from family, school, or community environments.

The checklist below features seven simple suggestions that individuals can use to diminish or *erase racism*.

Expand your circle of friends. Look around. Do you tend to hang out with people from your own racial or ethnic group? Look for a racially integrated club or team. If there aren't any integrated groups at your school, start one.

Race is not always the reason. Some conflicts are just "people problems"—a lack of understanding, a breakdown in communication. Take a deep breath and think a minute before you jump to the conclusion that race is the reason for your conflict.

Act against racism. Take a stand against racism. Banish racist words from your vocabulary. Don't laugh at racist jokes and don't just ignore them. Let your friends know how you feel. "I don't think that joke is funny" is easy to say.

Call attention to bias. Do students from one racial or ethnic group seem to get more attention in the classroom? Are they encouraged more to achieve? Do they get other forms of special treatment? This behavior is called "bias." Share your views with other students and teachers. Do they notice the same biases?

Investigate your own attitudes. Even if we don't realize it, we all have biases and prejudices. It doesn't mean we are racists. Don't just ignore your own feelings. Your feelings can be changed if you pay attention to them. Talk to your friends about them in order to see them more clearly.

Set a good example. Talk about and treat all people with respect. Be a role model for others.

Make a difference. Brainstorm ways that you and your friends can erase racism from your school. Choose one brainstorm idea and enlist other people to help you put your idea into practice.

architects and contractors who were willing to donate time, materials, and their expertise to restore the garden.

Outcome When the project was completed, Roosevelt students had formed working partnerships with local government, businesses, non-profits, and the media. They had recognized the diverse history and origins of their school community and provided a beautiful and valuable addition to the Roosevelt school environment. Today flagstone walkways wind along school grounds past a dry pond of granite stones. Flowers bloom all year and a

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redwood bridge sits at the center of the garden. Yoshio Kaku, 81, who helped build the original garden in 1933, said, "It makes me feel good to come back."

PRIDE: A FORUM FOR DISCUSSING RACIAL ISSUES

Background Abington Friends School is a K-12 school located in suburban Philadelphia. Of the 240 students in Abington's high school, approximately 15 percent are students of color. Until five years ago, the school lacked a mechanism for high school students to discuss issues relating to race and ethnicity. In 1992, two young African-American women started PRIDE, a forum for discussing racial issues, resolving conflicts, and celebrating cultural diversity. Today, more than a third of the student body participates in planning and implementing PRIDE activities.

Program Special lunch-hour forums have brought students together to discuss diversity issues such as the Million Man March, the role of youth in improving race relations, affirmative action, and how to break down racism in the school community. Cultural celebrations such as Black History Month, Chinese New Year, and International Day honor cultural diversity and create a sense of familiarity with diverse cultures. Service-learning projects such as a mentoring program with a predominantly Latino elementary school foster a sense of responsibility to the wider community as well as a deeper understanding of the social causes of racial conflict.

Outcomes PRIDE had a direct impact on formation of an All-School Committee on Diversity (consisting of administrators, faculty, parents and students) to promote equity and diversity in the school. Curricula have been revised to include minority perspectives. Changes in student-admissions and faculty-hiring policies have resulted in an increase in students and teachers of color. Ultimately, though, the greatest impact has been in student attitudes as young people practice positive ways of communicating about race.

STAR: STUDENTS AGAINST RACISM,

Background A series of racially motivated acts against Latino, African-American, and Jewish students led a Great Neck, New York, high school junior to found Students Against Racism (STAR). The STAR program allows students to actively participate in the fight against racism.

Program In STAR, high school seniors deliver presentations and lead classroom discussions, workshops, and seminars about racism and how to fight it. They also visit home-room classes in an effort to reach out to more students. Although there is a clear outline for the STAR program, each group of students may adapt the standard presentation and add activities to make STAR's program more effective. Each group leader participates in six hours of training on how to facilitate conversations on race relations.

Outcomes STAR sponsors Racism Reachout Day, a program featuring group discussions and workshops on racial intolerance. Students who were selected and trained by STAR, speakers from New York State Attorney General's Office, and the entire student body participate in Racism Reachout Day. In addition, the STAR program is collaborating with the high school leadership program to reach a broader range of students at a younger age.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. What problems of group interaction or diversity exist in your school or community?
2. How could these problems be addressed?

GROUP ACTION PROJECTS: MAKING A DIFFERENCE

WORKING WITH OTHERS: A KEY TO SUCCESS

Teaming up with others can create a powerful force to strengthen the value of diversity. People working together on a well-planned project usually have a better chance of achieving their goal than an individual working alone. Additionally, individuals or groups who collaborate can take advantage of each other's experience and resources.

Finding others who are interested in addressing problems of diversity may be as simple as turning to the person sitting in the next seat. Asking a few questions may reveal that other students are as concerned as you are.

- Who has been impacted by racial or ethnic conflict in your school or community?
- Who has expressed concern about racial or ethnic conflict?
- Are there organizations that are already promoting diversity in your school or community? Who are they?

A search through the phone book, the library, local colleges and universities, the Internet, and the information desk at city hall could lead you to valuable resources you can use to promote diversity.

Although diversity is considered by many to be a national issue, each community has its own unique character and its own particular diversity challenges. Therefore, it is often most effective to design a diversity program that will use your own resources to address your own needs and goals.

SMALL BEGINNINGS, BIG RESULTS

Group Action Projects do not need to be large to be effective. A small, well-planned school or community action project can focus on a specific problem without having to rely on outside leadership or support. Social service organizations are often overburdened and may not have time or resources to help as much as they would like. Other people may team up at a later date with a small, determined group that has demonstrated it can get a project rolling. We have already seen examples of projects started by young people to address the challenges and opportunities of diversity. Now it is time to start your own Group Action Project.

POINTS OF INQUIRY

1. Anthropologist Margaret Mead once said: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has." Do you agree? Explain.
2. What factors do you think make groups successful in their efforts? What factors might lessen their chance of success?
3. What organizations in your community might be concerned about reducing racial and ethnic conflict and promoting diversity?

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